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The Revolution in Religion

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*To those men and women, churchmen and
laity, who strive for a better understanding
of our needs*

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Preface

Much turmoil surrounds the influence of religious values in one's personal life. Various modes of religious expressions are evident today; experiences range from extreme fundamentalism to eastern mysticism. Yet sharp differences appear over the role of the church in social change, and whatever the differences, religion is certainly a topic of much discussion. Is religion an institutionalized matter of concern only on the day of worship? Should religion be reflected in our social concerns on a daily basis? Are there some matters that are better divorced from religion? Why do people interpret religious matters in different lights? Are there universal religious values? Can religion be a community experience or must it remain essentially personal? Should the institutional church take a stand on contemporary social issues? These are important questions that demand, if not definitive answers, certainly thoughtful discussion.

It may seem unusual then to talk of increased religious interest at a time when we find the chronicle of declining church membership. But in the minds of many there exists a sharp division between the concept of religion and the practices of institutionalized religion.

It seems evident to observers on the college scene that youth have not lost the search for an authentic religious experience. This book is directed to those searching for truth in today's conflict over religious values. We feel that there is a need for materials that bridge the gap between the secular and the religious institutions. The area of focus therefore becomes

moral, necessitating an integration of these two viewpoints. There are those who argue that religion should stay out of the pragmatic world of today. They contend that pious do-gooders only confuse the issue. It is our contention that religion cannot be separated from the everyday world. The fact is that it never has been. We have attempted to clearly demonstrate that religion today is as unsettled as any social force — it needs to be discussed if a search for truth is to have any real meaning.

Not every issue can be explored. For this reason we have attempted to focus on issues that seem to carry some degree of permanent relevance. The issues of war, racism, abortion, evangelism, and extremism will not go away. Unit I sets the stage for discussion, while the next five discuss specific issues. Unit VII provides some speculation for future developments in religion. Each of the five units contain conflicting viewpoints. Efforts have been made to combine scholarship, relevance, and readability. Agreement or persuasion is not sought here. What is wanted is an open, more enlightened look at the relationship between religion and life.

The authors are indebted to a number of people for their assistance in helping this work come into being. For her valuable insight into the search for greater meaning in life Dr. Ficker wishes to thank his student and friend, Miss Rosalyn Layton. We deeply value and appreciate the advice and encouragement given to us by Reverend August Bernthal, D.D. For assistance in all phases of manuscript preparation we would like to thank Mrs. Dorothy Grizzard.

V.B.F.
H.S.G.

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The State of the Revolution

The opening three selections of this book provide a perspective into the entire notion of a revolution. All address themselves to the idea that a new day is upon us, brought about by a developing spiritual awareness that has not been seen before.

In the opening selection, John Leary goes on record that "Simon and Garfunkel have done more to articulate a deep religious hunger in young people than Norman Vincent Peale, Billy Graham and Fulton Sheen all put together." Looking through the youth culture he sees signs of a sensitivity to our fellow men absent in more traditional settings. He says, "I expect from the turbulence a kinder and more sensitive world in the years ahead."

Michael Harrington, perhaps the most articulate socialist of the day, looks to religion as a means to inspire "political activism and commitment." Basing this selection on the premise that real religious values demand a changing world, he cautions that religion should never be identified with a specific tactic or movement. He goes on to point out that revolutionary violence rarely can be justified and never has

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a creative role. The greatest danger he sees is that men will identify religious fervor with political courses; that is, the notion that God is on their side.

The final selection, "Religion in the Age of Aquarius," looks at the idealism of the time we live in and with this idealism the coming of revolution. This idealism in social, political, and religious terms challenges the contemporary Christian to a personal facing up, a matter which all of us find troublesome and demanding.

These three selections give an aspect from which we can look at religious upheaval. Their subjects are disquieting, but they must be confronted.

The Revolution In Religion

Phenomena is the stuff you read. I would like to call to your attention three chunks of contemporary religious phenomena: First, a year or so ago the Beatles and Mia Farrow went on a long journey to seek counsel from their very own guru someplace high in the Himalayas. That these particular people did what they did is of interest to me, because I am bowled over at how abundance is proving its own "undoing." It may well be that mysticism and that crazy stuff they call marijuana have something in common. These elastic walls which are me and you are not getting stretched far enough by the glorious achievements of our civilization. Both may be a take-off on the real but caricature has its own authenticity.

There's no doubt that the Beatles and Mia Farrow have been idealized by the young. The way they think and sing and rhythmize, the way they react to life, is not untypical of ourselves. They have had a lot of adulation and fanfare, the hoopla of fame. Certainly the Beatles have put up with the panting and the fainting of teenage girls. Maybe those screams of the thousands rent something in them, tore at their wholeness and they said, "this ain't it."

Reprinted from *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 1 May 1969, pp. 446-48, by permission of John P. Leary, S.J., president, New College of California, Sausalito, and the journal. From a speech delivered before the students and faculty of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, February 12, 1969.

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So, there's a passion abroad *against* sameness, the uneventful, reiterative clod of time, stupid duration, and a passion *for* something so big and so fine that it can't be uttered. We would spoil it if we could say it.

And just the other day Tennessee Williams underwent a conversion. He became a Catholic because he said it was the only place in the world where he could find some goodness. He felt helpless alone. And so the man who distilled "The Glass Menagerie," "Suddenly Last Summer," and "Streetcar Named Desire," probably a person deeply devastated and illumined by life, has found a sanctuary which is religious.

Secondly, I feel that Simon and Garfunkel have done more to articulate a deep religious hunger in young people than Norman Vincent Peale, Billy Graham and Fulton Sheen all put together.

"Hello darkness, my old friend . . ." What a sea of poignancy those words stir. And "the words of the Prophet are written on the subway walls and tenement halls and heard in the sound of Silence." It reminds me of the Old Testament and its lament of how abyss cries to abyss.

So while older folks are prone to write off the younger generation as erratic, irreligious and unmindful, I think they're terribly mindful and that willy-nilly they are stumbling on to some of the most valid of all truths—God's concern, his love for us, his stretching us to make us grow.

Third, a few weeks ago on television many of us had a chance to hear Eric Hoffer in his hour interview with Eric Sevareid on CBS. It was a masterful performance—earthy, over stated, but fierce and very real. Among the provocative things he had to say was that today man identifies God with nature and because nature has become so suddenly vast and intricate, with Apollo space ships and computers and electric eyes, man is inclined to worship and submit to nature. The young are chafing under this kind of yoke. They still see transcendence or they feel it some way or other, they are refusing to knuckle under to a stereotyped society. They recognize that to succumb is to become servile and so I'm kind of happy that they're resisting the encroachment on their own autonomy. Something deep in them is revolting at the idea that the domain of their selfhood can be overpowered and controlled.

Hoffer went on to say that he was amused at people telling of how they went in before the great mountain ranges of the Sierra Nevada or the Himalayas and felt small. He roared, "Imagine man, the very image of God, tremulously wrought, quaking before a pile of rocks just because they're bigger in mass than he is!"

Today is the day of protest all over the world, from Barcelona to Paris, from Mexico City to San Francisco and Berkeley. While there

is a great rage and antipathy on against protest, and I feel indignant at incivility and excess, still, protests do display often a great religious symbolism. Granted that we might get mad as hell at juvenility, we, nonetheless, have to try to discern the authentic in this phenomenon too.

Our Lord chided his hearers one day when he said, you people look in the skies in the evening and if they're pink you say tomorrow will be a good day; if they're gray you say tomorrow will be a bad day. How is it that you're so good at discerning the face of the skies and so poor at discerning the face of the times?

We have to learn to read allegorically, not with a literal finger but with a practiced eye. Otherwise we miss the point. Linus and the Pumpkin Patch are not to be taken literally or they make no sense. "To sleep, perchance to dream, aye, there's the rub," is an allegorical statement. We must look behind the words to the meaning.

On the placards of the kids who are protesting, notwithstanding the long hair and how squeegee they look, we have to look behind LUV and FREEDOM to see what they're really complaining about. So dissatisfaction can be a wildly fruitful experience.

Service also today has become a ravaging syndrome. When I think of young people now and 20 years ago, I'm bowled over. Money really means less, all kinds are going into teaching who used to go into law and medicine, although they're also service fields but more remunerative, the Peace Corps, Vista. Many of your young people are going off to be Mormon missionaries. All of these constitute data which I, as an observer and interpreter, must read. And I note the nobility that prompts the decision.

Again, whatever the elders say about the young people today, they're vindicating in their life an approach to doctrine, devotion and morals that has seldom been equalled. They have a real thing on about doctrine now. They can't stand old hat, dead, unvitalized theories, and they've gotten a lot of new theories of their own on such things as change, the no-where man, equality, tolerance, what a good God God is. That's doctrine. By that I mean this is a truth they strongly hold to and they excoriate institutional religion if they see it falling short of the desires of its maker. Their very criteria tell volumes.

Devotion. By this I mean the way in which their emotional life, for example, is wrapped up in an awareness of man and God. They're sort of down on pews in church, down on collection baskets, probably down on structures that make all the decisions from the top—descending. They're down on too many answers and they sing, "The answer, my

friend, is in the hearts of man,” or Martin Luther’s “And I will raise him up on the last day.” Instead of the organ they want guitars, drums, castanets, horns, the furniture of our civilization. The sounds they feel at home with. And they talk to God, probably like we seldom did. I sort of gather that he is talking back to them as well.

Morals. People who say that the younger generation doesn’t care about morals are talking through their hat. Just listen to the “Harper Valley PTA,” the song every kid of 14 or 15 has been singing for the last few months. It’s a lampoon on the self righteous who send word home to the little girl’s mother on how she ought to be.

Kids have a conception of Christianity that is not just prohibitive. The great law is not “do not” the great law is “do.” The great law is love. There’s time enough for the qualifications and the specifications and constraints later on. And at least they have a great desire to specialize in integrity, the value of conscience. So, while their emphasis is laudably on the subjective, there is a danger that no one will be taking care of the “general store.” Still, this stress has been needed for a long time as a new counter-point in an almost merciless process of objectivization.

The jag we’re currently on is one of mechanized predictability. It fails but it succeeds too as we are all witness to. Our reflexes are so managed, cajoled, catered to and tyrannized over that we are more and more gaugeable. As a result there is less room for genuine freedom. Our choices, while seemingly multiple, are actually scanty. Not only are dinners prepackaged but so are our judgments. The TV dinner, in fact, is a symbol. We are living in a world of pseudo security, all quite contrived and unreal. More than a hundred years ago Browning, in commenting I suppose on his own times, put into the words of Pippa, the little girl on her way to market, the thoughts that the manipulators would like to perpetuate—in “Thoughts of the Spring:”

The spring’s of the morn
The morning’s at seven
The hillside’s dew pearled,
The lark’s on the wing
The snail’s on the thorn
God’s in his heaven
All’s right with the world.

God’s in his Heaven all right but all’s not right with the world. And complacency, like self righteousness, is a sin, a lesion of order. So the “againers” aren’t saps after all. Somebody better darn well object. Mo-

mentaneity and the web are everywhere and we are caught. One of our Gonzaga Regents, Dr. Alfred Marrow, was saying the other day that the great problem with the tempo and complexity of our times was whether we had the machinery to gestate. Can we really absorb and become part of all we are meeting?

Of course, in the visible results of religion (as in politics, art, business), people count preeminently. Christ remarked once, "I have come to give witness to the truth." The astronauts on Christmas Eve chilled us and thrilled us awesomely as we stood with them at the window of their ship looking down 60 miles upon the moon. And then we heard them read from the book of Genesis. Will we ever forget that Christmas? This was not Buck Rogers or Batman, it was for real. People, young people of our blood and sinew were careening around another planet 240,000 miles away from us! And looking back on us like a silver dollar glistening in the black.

Joseph Smith and Brigham Young down to the venerable David McKay represent the spirit of religion. The same is true of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Paul VI and Athanagoras. All of these men are carriers, witnesses. What does that mean? People who testify before everybody that all life is the discovery of the roadway into one's self where God sits still and serene.

Colleges and universities, like people, are a moral personality; they also give witness so that Southern Methodist University, Pacific Lutheran, Notre Dame, Gonzaga, all these schools are meant to vindicate in their flesh and cement, the people who go there and labor there, the transcendent value of the sacred, which includes the secular and goes beyond it.

We may spend forever defining and keep conceptualizing on our soul, at what pure point we show mankind our own *raison d'être*. But the phenomenology is there. Hundreds of thousands of young people who have to pay more, choose to pay more so that they may confirm and revitalize their own deepest concerns.

While we need the religious leaders, perhaps more than we've ever needed them, both as charismatic and impulse givers and as indispensable to unity, still, there is revolution here too. A new awareness of a solidarity grounded in the Holy Trinity is inching its way. The leader is going to have to partially abdicate and learn to lead now obliquely. The ad people are learning the lesson. They are masterful in persuasion. While you Mormons don't drink beer, nonetheless, I saw a billboard the other day with a bathtub full of Hamm's Beer, and the inscription "It's so good you think it's illegal." That's the way the psychology engineers

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are engineering. Indirection. So we are perhaps more conspicuously in the day of the Holy Ghost brooding over the bent world, and I am the bent world. You are.

In the crochet-work of my life, the ups and downs, the tears and laughter, I see the cosmos. I know in my deepest self how often I am prevented, what strange urgencies have compelled me. So in the days ahead I am convinced we will see enormous generation of power from the bottom up. For a while we are going to have to play down the geometrics order, regularity that's stultifying, and standards patterns which blunt resourcefulness. This is the day of the Yellow Submarine, with creativity and patterns that will not be linear.

In all theology the revolution I'm speaking of is in full sweep—call it evolution as you will, in holy scripture, in dogma, in morals. You sense the profound change. There's a new theology of mortal sin, if you please, which is saying, "you don't ever seriously offend God unless you want to." The parables of Holy Scripture are coming to mean what they were supposed to mean and not simply looked upon as historical narrative. Dogma, and man has always had a passion for dogma, cannot mean any more simply documented pronunciamientos with minor relevance to the ordinary person.

Furthermore, I think the day is gone when the theologian can give an answer to everything. I am not sure he can give an answer to anything alone anymore, because it's less and less true that anything in this world exists alone.

So as the theologian has to look to archeology, paleontology, literature, psychology, sociology, economics, communications arts, Hopkins was really right when he said "the world is charged with the grandeur of God, it will flame out like shining from shook foil." So the religious expert who has for so long been almost apocalyptic about his exclusive expertise must now be chastened by an awareness he must have feed-in from every other source and that almost no answer is final.

Yet as a member of a team the theologian may be even more prodigiously successful than he has ever been. The world awaits electrically the advent of the machinery, the translator of the good news. This will have to mean a constantly renewed contact with the idiom. When Robert Frost says, "one luminary clock against the sky proclaims the time is neither wrong nor right," he says something profoundly theological. When Dylan Thomas says, speaking of death, "Go not gently into the darkness! Rage! Rage!" This is a religious passion.

I maintain we are on the threshold of a vast religious breakthrough. It's being accelerated by the impotence and the sterility of a merely

molecular and jazzed up culture. You can't pound down the authentic indefinitely. The wages of sin is really death. The rupture with the old may be painful but hopefully very therapeutic.

For a long time it seems that Christianity has been saying, "memorize and hang on to these doctrines, abstain from impropriety, follow these rules and you will be fulfilled." No sir! This is unvital. Any approach to religion along these lines emasculates our awareness. This is how transcendence is lost. And so I suppose the pain of it all is best expressed by one of the brothers Karimazov, when he cried out, "what good is salvation if one is lost?"

So religion is gravitation to one's source. Almost like Space Odyssey 2001. The long circular journey from womb to tomb to womb. You take Tillich's given and from then on it's your game, there is freedom. There is grace. And there is you.

Religion is not only revealed—it's unrevealed. The best part of it has never been uttered. Christ said luminous and blinding things, he was full of madness and promise. He said, I have come not to destroy the old order but to fulfill it—and yet it didn't want fulfillment.

The same security-ridden, overly fearful, anxious, non-boat-rocking people were around fighting this revolutionary who worked on the Sabbath, drank wine, talked to sinful women and drew after him a motley crowd.

And 2000 years later we observe the same basic conflicts. Everyone uses the Master for their side. As Mayor Lindsay told the American Association of Colleges meeting in Pittsburgh last month, all wars, including that of the teachers and garbage collectors against the city of New York, are holy wars. He went on to observe that he saw little virtue and much passion on both sides.

Christ said I have come not to bring peace but the sword, and what does the sword do? It cuts, divides, separates, makes people feel uncertain and alone and I suppose that is why old Simeon could say, "this child is a sign that shall be contradicted." But before everything that ultimately disperses and disunites man there runs that sneaky little thread we call hope. Camus says that a Rebel is one who says no but does not renunciate or opt out.

I'm not sure that Harvey Cox is right in urging religious men to creative disaffiliation. It could be a seduction. There would be no religion unless it were organized. Man always shelters a good idea to preserve it. The trouble may be that it's so preserved and walled around that little of the message gets out and little of the reality for which it is intended gets in. So the two are not related.

I'm convinced, finally, that what has preceded every human revolt in politics, finance, style, education and culture, has germinated in some lofty religious idea. Socrates, before his death, said at the conclusion of his Apology, "And now as I leave you, care for my two sons — trouble them as I have troubled you." From Mahatma Ghandi to Martin Luther King's "I had a dream," we see the matrix of advance in this deep, personal transcendence of man in his journey to God. So, our ultimate undoing would be to forget what it means to be a child of His. If the young do not revolt against the pedestrian, the shoddy, the mercantile, and insincerity, then all is lost. If they do not nourish discontent and keep reaching for the stars, then night is upon us.

But I read the times. New words of the young are stepping into the void and I expect from the turbulence a kinder and more sensitive world in the years ahead. Something is being said in these dots and dashes, and I hear it.

Religion and Revolution

How does a Christian relate to politics? How far can a Christian go in support of revolutionary social change?

I prefer to rephrase these questions posed by the editors of *Commonweal* and deal, not simply with Christian, but with all religious people. For, it seems to me, the underlying issue is whether a view of the supernatural implies, or dictates, certain attitudes toward the crises and struggles of this world. In answering, then, one necessarily responds in terms which apply to Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, indeed to all religion.

Given this reformulation, I would reply from my own secular standpoint that religion should inspire political activism and commitment and provide values which are very much relevant to life on this earth, but that it can never be identified with a specific tactic or movement. As a result, the religious person confronted with the choice of political means—whether, let us say, violent revolution is justified—must examine the issue in much the same way as a conscientious atheist of similar, though naturalistic, values. And on this very untheological basis I would conclude that the justified uses of violence in political struggle are very much circumscribed for believer and unbeliever, and for the very same reason.

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First of all, let me spell out the notion of religion as inspiration but not as a tactical guide.

I share Marx's respect for the earthly function of religion. In that famous passage which ends with the charge that faith is the opium of the people, the preceding section which is normally not quoted describes how the religious spirit through history has been the most profound source of man's social protest and hope. It was only in the modern age, Marx held, when secular solutions to worldly miseries became possible, that the churches simply became props for the status quo. There was more than a little truth to his insight but it obviously does not accurately describe the social involvement of religious people in recent years. In other words, contrary to Marx's expectation, religion has sometimes continued to play an important, valuable role in the age of science.

The crucial point is not, of course, exactly how right or wrong my favorite German philosopher was on this question. It is simply that I share with him the conviction that one of the profound contributions of religion has been its inspiration to secular action and resistance. I even think that some of the more transcendental theologies—Augustine's, for instance—were also articulating a utopian social spirit in a language appropriate to a given point in time. The quietist God, on the other hand, who is said to create the universe and then let it suffer, has always struck me as unworthy and cruel. And this is true even in the profound images of Him, like Dostoevsky's Christ who opposes any effort to alleviate the misery of the people as blasphemy and atheism. Divinity should be something more than a spectator sport.

But saying this does not imply that theology contains politics. It inspires, it defines values which must be realized in this world, but tactics are not a function of the eternal. It is good that men say, these values of brotherhood and charity have come to me through my religion and I will therefore try to put them into actual practice. But when they add, God has ordained this particular strategy, that is usually the prelude to intolerance and messianism.

When, for instance, a Father Groppi argues that it is his faith which inspired him with the values that caused him to act in such a way as to be jailed, that is exactly to the point. But to the degree that he implies that God is in favor of fighting welfare cuts through sitting in at the legislature, that is quite dangerous for it implies a supernatural legitimacy for a human choice of means to an end. One should remember that in that most political of hagiographies, the voices of Joan of Arc led her to defeat, death and sainthood. Ultimately God was more interested in holiness than in French nationalism.

That is why I think that the decision on how "far" one can go in the support of social change is the same for the religious and the atheist activist: the choice must be made in terms of present politics, not transcendental principles. (The one exception would be the religious pacifist who commits himself to an absolute refusal of violence.) So I do not find it surprising that Jacques Maritain (in more liberal days) and Leon Trotsky (in a fascinating polemic with John Dewey) had essentially the same answer to this question. The means, Maritain said, are the end in the process of becoming. Therefore evil means are not justified by a good end since they cannot possibly lead to it.

And Trotsky wrote, "*Not* all means are permissible. When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation. . . ." For both Trotsky and Maritain—and for me—the means and the end are not dialectically related. But then applying this generality to the anguished possibilities of a given political situation is not easy and the answer is certainly not given either by theology or atheistic humanism.

Let me give two examples of how I would apply this principle, one concerning the general nature of social change, the other relating to the specific character of this epoch.

The strategy first formulated by Auguste Blanqui—and still among us to this day—called upon a small, dedicated revolutionary elite to save the people from the stupidity with which their rulers had indoctrinated them and then, after the revolution, to instruct them in democratic and free choice. But if one is committed to democratic change, as I am, this simply will not do, for people cannot be dragooned into autonomy. And, as the history of Communism so amply demonstrates, the selfless elite soon develops its own class privileges. Means have become ends.

More generally, I would argue that, in this age, revolutionary violence is only justified—in terms of that dialectical relationship of means and ends—in very limited cases and that it can never have a creative role. In an underground struggle against a fascist (or Communist) regime—anti-Nazism, the struggle against Greek dictatorship, etc.—the brutality of one's opponents may require a counter-violence. But that use of force cannot be an instrument of building a new, and decent, order, and it must always be kept in proportion. All H-bombs, including those supposed to be left wing or freedom-loving, are horribly reactionary.

Martin Luther King, Jr. understood an aspect of the problem which non-pacifists should do well to ponder. He advocated the tactic of non-

violence because, he said, the antagonists eventually would have to live with one another and the less hatred, the fewer wounds, the better for the future. I would secularize this insight and apply it to revolution in any advanced societies. For what must now be radically transformed is not the machines themselves, or the title to them, but the human organizations which run them. The great capital of the knowledge economy is not a factory but the enormous productivity of science as applied by men to the creation of goods. But such a system absolutely demands cooperation, consensus and, if it is to have a soul, relations of brotherhood between the producers. One can expropriate a plant with violence, but not men's minds. Therefore the necessary conflict must be prosecuted so as to make possible that final goal and carefully limited violence may defend but never create. And this limit of what is permissible is to be found in the natural order of things even though, for the religious person, it may be corroborated by a revelation.

There is, in short, a great danger and a great potential in the tremendous awakening of the religious-social conscience. The danger is that the inspiration of transcendental values will be identified with particular tactics and that men will claim godly sanction for human strategies. That often leads to denying the rights of others, and even majorities, who have not been favored to hear the supernatural voices. The potential is that religious people will be motivated to commit themselves more and more and will therefore join the atheists in trying to seek human solutions to their common human problems.

Religion in the Age of Aquarius

On February 5, 1962, the planet Jupiter came into alignment with Mars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, the sun and the moon. The alignment occurred in the sign of Aquarius. It was the dawning of the age of Revolution. Astrologers breathed a sigh of relief. Had the alignment occurred in Capricorn, rather than in Aquarius, it would have presaged, not revolution, but annihilation.

Needless to say, the annihilation of the human race during the age of Aquarius is not beyond the realm of possibility. But all such apprehensions aside, what do the stars tell us to expect in the age which from an astrological viewpoint, has just begun to dawn?

Aquarius is the sign of idealism, of freedom, of humanitarianism and of progressive thinking. It is the sign of human brotherhood, of intuitive and scientific insight, of revolutionary new ideas.

Since the dawning of the Age of Aquarius, Americans have witnessed the emergence of a variety of religious and quasi-religious movements. We have watched the dawning of a new Romanticism. Its symptoms are manifest. We have seen the growth of interest in Gothic tales, in fairy stories like *The Lord of the Rings*.

The new Romantics, like their 19th-century forbears pursue exotic experiences through drugs and through a variety of Oriental cults. Like

the Romantics of the 19th century, many new Romantics have rediscovered the Bible. There is a new cult of primitivism, perhaps most strikingly embodied in hippie communes which attempt to return to the simpler living of a vanished frontier.

Aquarian Romantics are alienated too from the established social and political structures. They are more than ordinarily inclined to excoriate Washington and the military-industrial complex. Like the old Romantics of the 19th century, Aquarians have also found a new fascination with the American *Volkgeist*. True to their Romantic forebears, this generation is also drawn to humanitarian movements and to social and political revolution. The religious mood is subjective, individualistic, dissatisfied with traditional, organized forms of belief and worship.

Finally, since the dawning of the age of Aquarius, we have seen a resurgence of Pentecostal, and more recently of revivalist, piety. The Jesus freaks are growing. And there is charismatic renewal even among Roman Catholics.

Religion in the age of Aquarius, shows a penchant for the exotic and bizarre, Zen, Sokagakki, yoga and the Changes of Chou have more appeal to many than the institutionalized worship. Americans are used to witch-hunts. But not since Salem have we hunted real witches. Still, witchcraft as well as black and white magic have reappeared in our culture. There are supposedly hundreds of witches living in Manhattan alone. Even devil worship is making American converts.

1. Is it possible to discover some kind of pattern in the confusing and kaleidoscopic changes that characterize the contemporary religious mood? At the risk of some rashness, I am inclined to think that we can.

To begin with, the religious phenomena that have accompanied the dawning of the age of Aquarius are not completely unfamiliar to any student of American culture. The age of Andrew Jackson, for instance, exhibits some remarkable social and religious analogues to our own.

Like the age of Aquarius, it was an age of intense, social and religious ferment. It was characterized by the felt discovery of a radical estrangement between the federal government and the common man, a feeling that Jacksonian Democrats exploited to the full. It was an age simultaneously fascinated with and disillusioned by the power of technology. It was an age of social radicals, puzzled and frustrated by the problems of urbanization. It was an age of Romantic Transcendentalists, of bristling individualists estranged from society and from organized religion. "All the bright boys and girls," Emerson remarked to Carlyle in 1842, "...come and make confession to fathers and mothers — the boys that they do not wish to go into trade, the girls that they do not like morning calls and

evening parties. They are all religious, but hate the churches: they reject all the ways of living of other men, but have none to offer in their stead."

It was an age of men with a passion for the felt experience of God. And men sought that experience in revivalism, in the cult of drugs and in Oriental mysticism. It was, in a word, an age in many respects remarkably like our own, despite the absence of our present planetary mandate to revolution and social ferment. The age of Jackson, is, therefore, an age well worth the study of a contemporary Aquarian, if for no other reason than that it can help provide a useful yardstick against which to measure contemporary movements of thought.

Religion in the age of Jackson was to a large extent dominated by the cult of enthusiasm. Charles Gradison Finney and other Revivalist ministers swept the country preaching the Second Great awakening. But, as historians of the age have pointed out, Finney was no Jonathan Edwards. And the Second Awakening suffered for the absence of strong intellectual leadership. As the 19th century progressed, revivalist piety tended to succumb to a combination of anti-intellectual emotionalism and fundamentalist dogmatism.

New England Transcendentalism, particularly in its Emersonian form, attempted to secularize and liberalize revivalist piety by giving it a cultured, naturalistic interpretation. For Emerson, possession by the Spirit was not a supernatural grace, but the discovery of one's immediate, conscious, personal participation in the universal creative essence of God.

2. A comparison of religion in the age of Jackson with Aquarian religion reveals, then, significant points of coincidence.

For both the contemporary Aquarian and the 19th-century Jacksonian, religious experience tends to emerge from the experience of frustration and disillusionment. At the start of his religious progress, the Aquarian religious pilgrim discovers God more easily in the latter's absence from this world than in an experience of an intramundane divine presence. For the contemporary Aquarian, the moving forces in the Church and in society are encountered initially as corrupt and demonic, or at best as venal and flaccid, rather than as divinely inspired. It is scarcely surprising then that the growing and dubiously controllable pollution of our air and waterways, which has resulted from, among other things, the incontinent and selfish pursuit of comfort and of economic power, has come to symbolize for many Aquarians the growing moral degeneracy and inertia of our political, social and religious institutions.

This experience of radical social and political disillusionment discourages the contemporary Aquarian from seeking God within the existing order of things. If, therefore, he ever discovers a divine call, it is apt to be

both an inner call and a call of transcendence. It is an inwardly felt summons to escape the drabness, the selfishness, the impersonalism and the moral compromise of the venal, commercialistic, bureaucratic social and political web in which the Aquarian finds himself hopelessly entangled.

The fact that Aquarian religion is rooted in an experience of general disillusionment also gives it a strongly individualistic cast. Like the French existentialist of a previous generation, the contemporary Aquarian finds himself summoned to create meaning and purpose for himself in a world of absurdity and drift, if he is to discover meaning at all. He is loathe to trust too quickly any group or established religious community. And he is quick to sever religious affiliations with any Church or with any less formal religious group that falls short of his individual personal expectations.

Radical disillusionment with the structures of society leads the Aquarian spontaneously to radical disillusionment with the human powers that have produced them. Since its origin, American democracy has proudly claimed human reason as its architect. Our overt political structures were above all the product of an age of rational enlightenment. Our technological society is the product of scientific logic.

Aquarians sense that uncritical acquiescence in the linear forms of pragmatic logic can easily result in what Herbert Marcuse has called the "happy consciousness" of the American middle class. Technological control of nature has produced more material comfort for some; but along with comfort has come the H-bomb, napalm, air and water pollution, the growing depersonalization of society and the haunting political vision of 1984.

Disillusionment with the works of reason easily engenders disillusionment with reason itself. Two decades before the dawning of the age of Aquarius, Sidney Hook sensed the nascent shift in the national mood and with typical aggressiveness began launching his naturalistic barbs against the "new failure of nerve." He charged with dismay and disdain that the growing popular search for religious transcendence in American society had become allied with the deliberate cult of irrationalism. And he likened the national mood to that which dominated Hellenistic society in the final stages of its decadence and decline.

For the Aquarian, then, irrational subjectivism, individualism and the search for transcendence all combine to produce the personal cult of inner enlightenment. Unable to identify with the existing forms of religious and social life, the Aquarian prefers to search for salvific enlightenment within the labyrinthine ways of his own mind.

3. If one can concede the preceding analysis as in general true, then one can hazard the thesis that religion in the age of Aquarius tends spontaneously to a secularized form of Gnosticism. There can, of course, be

no question of a full-fledged rebirth of Gnostic religion in the twentieth century. With the possible exception of a few extreme Romantics, most contemporary Americans can scarcely be expected to live in the modified Ptolemaic universe that fascinated the Gnostic imagination.

But Gnosticism cannot be equated exclusively with the mythic and cosmological symbols that first gave historical expression to the Gnostic experience. Ever since his emergence in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Gnostic has remained a perennial religious figure. The external trappings of Gnostic belief have varied from generation to generation. But the essentials of the Gnostic experience have reappeared in Occidental religion with almost monotonous regularity.

At the heart of Gnostic religion is the experience of alienation. The Gnostic man is not at home in the world of everyday human experience. He is confused by the noise and illusion of everyday human traffic and belief. He cannot identify with the carnal, materialistic pursuits of ordinary men. He longs to discover his true spiritual self. He yearns for a forgotten innocence.

Conscious alienation from the unenlightened masses of humanity leads the Gnostic to discover already present within himself a hidden spark of divinity. Sensing that his capacity for insight signifies his oneness with the divine, he feels himself called to transcend the crudity of popular thought and morality. Often intimidated by the forces of darkness within himself and society, he shrinks at first in anguish from the divine call to transcendence. But he learns with time and self-discipline to cultivate inner spiritual enlightenment.

4. Classical Gnosticism exerted a peculiar fascination for the Christians of the first centuries. The fascination was partly grounded in likeness. The Gnostic religion borrowed its symbols syncretistically from Christianity as it did from other religions of the time. More serious still, Christianity like Gnosticism offered men a form of salvific enlightenment. Moreover, both religions expressed a certain disillusionment with this world.

But the Gnostic and the Christian parted company on a number of key points. The Gnostic looked on the material realm as intrinsically corrupt. The Christian looked upon it as destined for re-creation in Christ.

Gnostic disillusionment excluded every form of intramundane hope. Psychologically, the Gnostic is like William James' "sick soul," who suffers from a permanent, psychic neuralgia that blinds him to the values immanent in this world. Christian hope embraces the whole of creation.

Hence, Gnostic enlightenment dissociated salvific enlightenment from creative, redemptive, atoning love for this sinful world. The enlightened Gnostic rejected the material universe and those who live in the flesh

with contempt. From a Christian standpoint, Gnostic enlightenment seemed devoid of human compassion and Christlike forgiveness. For the Christian true enlightenment consists in "putting on the mind of Christ," who became flesh out of love in order to redeem men, body and soul, from their sinfulness.

Gnosticism also interpreted salvific enlightenment in individualistic terms. For the Christian, the enlightenment of the Spirit is given, not to isolated individuals, but to the entire community.

Finally, for the Gnostic the transcendence of one's sinful fallenness consisted in the rediscovery of the inner spark of divinity that one possesses by his very nature. For the Christian, to share in divine life is to accept God's free and gratuitous gift of love.

Contemporary Aquarians cannot, of course, be expected to reproduce all of the traits of classical Gnosticism. They will be less inclined to a strict Gnostic dualism. But some analogies do exist.

Aquarians will, for instance be apt to vacillate between despondent moments of intense psychic neuralgia and spiritually enlightened moments of intolerant moralistic dogmatism. Once enlightened, they will be prone to see evil in everyone but themselves. They will be apt to cultivate publicly elaborate gestures of contempt for the established social order. Lost in the illusion of their own enlightened innocence, they will have little or no compassion to spare for the spiritually unwashed and unenlightened masses, whose values differ from Aquarian values. We may expect, then, that the Aquarian will be likely to be most deficient, not in insight, but in a universal, atoning, redemptive love for sinful men.

5. If this analysis of the negative tendencies in Aquarian religion is correct, then, there is a mutual challenge existing between the Aquarian and the traditional Christian.

The Aquarian challenges the Christian to acknowledge his own sinfulness and the effects of his malice and indifference on human society. The Aquarian challenges the Christian to rediscover the experiential, charismatic origins of his own belief.

The Christian challenges the Aquarian to embrace atoning love for a sinful world and to acknowledge the destructive and divisive effect that individualistic claims to salvific moral enlightenment have upon human society.

It is important to note, however, that Gnosticism can assume both an institutional and an anti-institutional form. The institutional Gnostic is a rigorist who endows with absolute religious significance a particular set of moral imperatives which he seems embodied in a given institutional structure. Anti-institutional or Romantic Gnosticism is revolutionary in bent.

Theologically, the institutional Gnostic is a nominalist. His belief is content to rest with formulas, words, mere ritual and pat answers. Inwardly convinced that in these formulas he has personal possession of *the* truth, he feels no urge to ask whether the common creed of his Church may not mean radically different things to different members of his own community. At the same time, the otherworldliness of his piety frequently blinds him to the immediately practical implication of the credal formulas he says he believes.

6. Typically, then, the institutional Gnostic feels that authoritative assurance concerning the truth of his credal formulas absolves him of the need to reflect on their meaning. As a result, he remains blithely innocent of the monumental historical problems facing the religious exegete. For the religious exegete is concerned almost exclusively with the meaning of sacred texts.

The recent revolution in biblical criticism provides an apt example of the problem I am referring to. But the problem does not exist only for students of Scripture. It is just as pressing and important for the Roman Catholic attempting to understand the meaning of conciliar text, or for a Hindu attempting to grasp the meaning of the Baghavad Gita. For in the last analysis, all orthodox piety is inseparable from an understanding of the meaning of the sacred texts in which it is rooted. But the inspired meaning of every sacred text is inevitably a function of its literary structure and of the historical context in which it was originally written.

By bracketing the problem of meaning and demanding immediate and blind acceptance of authoritative religious documents, the institutional Gnostic closes off the possibility for religious dialogue just as effectively as his antinomian, Aquarian counterpart. The resulting gap in communications between the two should, however, come as no surprise to any student of Gnosticism. The fragmentation of the Christian community has always resulted from a Gnosticized attempt to pin God down to a particular feeling or to a particular formula. It is the perennial sin of idolatry, the deification of historical realities that are not, in the last analysis, God.

Implicit in every genuine Christian commitment is, therefore, as Royce said quite clearly several decades ago, a common will to interpret. Each generation of Christians is summoned as a community, by its very loyalty to the vision of Christ, to a responsible, interpretative re-assimilation in faith and mutual love of its common historical heritage and to the practical translation of those interpreted ideals into effective shared activity for the present and for the future.

7. Interestingly enough, however, the age of Aquarius has also brought with it an incipient popular rediscovery of the charismatic basis

for Christianity. We noted at the beginning of these reflections the recent resurgence of Pentecostal piety, even in Roman Catholic circles. It is difficult to generalize about a popular movement of such diversity. But at this point the charismatic renewal shows some promise of awakening the institutional Churches to a realization of the extent to which they have in fact often substituted a rationalistic version of the *deus otiosus* of primitive belief for the saving God of the Old and New Testaments. As a result, those who have had positive experiences in the charismatic renewal of the Churches, in discovering a new experiential dimension to their own faith, have also often found a new meaning in many traditional forms of belief and worship.

Nevertheless, the Gnostic character of the prevailing religious mood itself poses a challenge to the internal charismatic renewal of institutional and sacramental Christianity. For the history of Christian piety shows clearly that such charismatic movements have invariably proved institutionally divisive the moment they have substituted a Gnostic for a Christian, Pauline, communitarian interpretation of religious experience. The future of the charismatic renewal will, therefore, largely depend on the quality of its intellectual leadership.

8. The Age of Aquarius is the age of revolution—scientific, political, religious. We stand now on the threshold of that age. It is for the future to reveal whether our current religious revolution will take the form of an eradication, an up-rooting, or of a new creation.

Many centuries ago, Augustine groped his way through the labyrinth of Gnostic disillusionment until he experienced the presence and the meaning of an active, saving and gracious God. It may be that many contemporary Aquarians, be they antinomian or rigoristic, will have to retrace the pattern of his anguished progress before they too will find inner peace. But if they are going to find that peace in any of our existing religious communities, it is my belief that both the Aquarians and the non-Aquarians of this generation will have to undergo a revolutionary change more radical than either personal disaffection or external institutional reform. For the revolution now being demanded of each of us is in the last analysis an inner conversion of heart that we alone cannot affect.

At the dawning of the Age of Aquarius, of the age of revolution, one could scarcely find a better aspiration for the dissatisfied, for the complacent, for the angry and for the confused than the prayer of Orestes Brownson more than a century ago as he stood on the threshold of another Romantic, American, religious revolution. "O that the Spirit of God would once more pass by, and say unto these dry bones, 'Live!'"

II

The Church, War, and Peace

Probably never before in history has the issue of war and peace been so hotly debated. There have always been opponents of war, and always those who seemed to thrive on it. But the clear lines drawn between these two elements have never been sharper.

The selections in this unit attempt to look at two basic areas of concern in the issue of war: conscience and the role of the church. It is clear that a great deal of overlap exists in these issues, yet by briefly separating them perhaps we can better see the whole.

Daniel Berrigan, the activist priest of Catonsville, took specific steps to plead his case for an end to the Vietnam conflict. Berrigan points out that by his actions he hoped to focus the attention of the country on the immorality of the war. He was aiming "at a social change, in a time of paralysis and dread."

The difficulty of being in the world yet not of it is explored in the selection by Stephen Rose. Should a church which preaches peace invest in instruments of war? This question

is not quickly resolved since funds are needed to carry on church work. Rose calls on the Christian community to divest itself of such corporate holdings.

Conscience, the Law, and Civil Disobedience

Let us grant from the beginning the serious nature of this subject. Indeed, it is so serious that on its behalf many good men are driven against a wall—to death by violence, to prison in resistance to violence. Their blood and tears forbid us the luxury of an abstract debate.

May I begin with a postulate that may be uncomfortable, but which cannot in truth be avoided. The postulate is a place: Cornell Law School. The school is Anglo-Saxon, white, Western. It is rich by anyone's standards; in libraries, in professional savvy, in tradition, in public resources. It carries the weight of Gothic walls, and a special coloration in all seasons; as such, it is a member of a league named "Ivy." It has joined hands with certain other white, rich, Anglo-Saxon, Western, post-Christian, post-Gothic structures of law schools. They, all of them, house lawyers, students, books, and by implication a large measure of our future, if any. I pay this excellent arrangement my tribute, even though mine can be, ironically, only the tribute of a felon.

Such, in crude brief, is the geography.

I also have a scene. I have not come out of Jove's forehead, nor out of a stork's chimney. Indeed, if one can believe it, I come out of a tradition stern in point of law, and insistent in force of obedience. There

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are those who may have heard of us—the Society of Jesus. We have a name here and there.

Now, it may be convenient for the purpose of civil law, or even of the Catholic Church, to consider me a freak, the kind of biological sport who turns up now and then to confound even the most artful selective process. Such may be the fact. Or, something else may also be of point. It may possibly be that the legal tradition and mine are converging on a point of truth; that we, both of us, are trying to make that point—equally perplexed, perhaps even in jeopardy before a truth of which neither of us is the keeper.

The question is one of tradition, my tradition and that of the legal profession. I believe a man's possibility is in large part measured by the tradition he comes out of. I have said it repeatedly on the Cornell campus; I have said it before the SDS, before the religious communities, before the fraternities, before my own soul; like it or not, we are what we have been. A man can claim to be going somewhere only if he has come from somewhere. Alienation in any absolute sense can only be a source of dislocation and irresponsibility.

To go somewhere, a man must come from somewhere. For myself, if my claim to Christian tradition is valid, it is so only because I am trying to embody that conception of citizenship and faith that runs from Jesus to Paul to Galileo to Newman to Teilhard to Pope John to myself. In the same way, if one claims the Western legal tradition, it is because one embodies a spirit that runs from the Magna Carta through English common law on to Holmes and Frankfurter to oneself.

It perhaps goes without saying also that if one claims to be the inheritor of his tradition, he is required to cast off the enticements and lies that corrupt the tradition. For the reverse of our proposition is also true: A man can claim to have come from somewhere only if he is going somewhere. Thus I must cast off the fury and incoherence of the inquisition, and lawyers presumably are ridding themselves of the attitudes we inherit from slave laws. I am trying to outgrow an inhuman priesthood—its mystification, and its neglect of living men. And men of the law, I would think, are casting off the enticements of big money, big names, ignorance of the social currents and passions of the day, neglect of those who run with man—the draft resisters, the black power students, those who are working their way through perplexity and inhumanity, to a possibly decent society.

All of this may of course be no more than empty rhetoric, in the light of our actual desires and motives. For it takes enormous courage and discipline and patience to be a man of tradition, in the sense we speak of, in whatever sphere of life. One of the difficulties is that every

discipline, every aspect of man's public life tends today, of its own unchecked momentum, to claim man totally for itself. Lawyers like to believe that man is the sum of his laws; sociologists, that man is the sum of societal phenomena; philosophers, that man is defined by his wisdom or logic; believers, that man is his religion; nationalists, that man owes his life and well-being to the state; generals, that man must march against other men, to someone's tune. But I dare to suggest, reporting on the fact of life, that in order to be a man, it is sometimes necessary to escape from these definitions; to free the ghetto, to disobey the law, to disavow the race, to surpass the religion. In order to be a student it is necessary to disrupt Columbia. In order to a citizen it is necessary to march in the streets of Chicago. In order to abide by law, it is necessary to confront the law. Such at least are the possibilities that men feel impelled to explore. Men disobey, disrupt, break laws. Are they thereby criminals in fact? Or is something deeper and more mysterious at work? Can lawbreaking in certain cases be a function of conscience?

The thesis thus follows on the facts of the times, which is not, of course, a way of denying that the argument remains arguable. It must, in order to vindicate itself, confront both the fact of the reluctant courts and of the passionate lawbreakers, the fact of black anger and of white intransigence, the fact of stalemated structures and of the unkillable, rising tide of man's hope.

Today, powerful forces of love and hatred are experimenting with the future of our society. No one can rationally suggest that a stalemate or compromise will be any sort of viable outcome. Indeed, no. Everything in history suggests that so neat a solution is self-defeating. It is untrue to events, to the pace of things, to the evidence before us. Indeed, revolution is the heart of that evidence: radical social change is the order of the day and the dream or nightmare of the night.

That was the order of my generation, too, and its nightmare. We came out of a kind of northern Appalachian poverty. In the thirties our family was a rural one, a part of the pandemic poverty of the great depression years. And we barely made it. We learned firsthand the near catastrophe of the "crash," the harsh, slow recovery of the Roosevelt years, the first moves toward social reform. We were the hands into which the New Deal was dealt. Public relief programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Industrial Reconstruction Act; we ate our alphabet soup and were grateful for it, however thin it was drawn.

During those same years, while federal institutions were shaken to their foundations, another fact of life surrounded my family. We were members of a church whose main word, whether we or others liked it

or not, was revolutionary. The revolution only really began to march much later. No matter, the bomb was buried; it needed only to be detonated. Meantime, we had to undergo the preliminaries of any revolution; which is to say, the possession of the field by reactionaries. The church revolution today is in debt to its most determined resisters, ironically enough. Francis Cardinal Spellman and Senator Joseph McCarthy were the precursors; they flourished, all but unchallenged, during the fifties. (During the same years, for those who could really look around, there were men like Maritan, Murray, and Pope John on the scene, pointing to something radical and new.) And then the sixties arrived, and the Vietnam War fueled itself into a fury. The Catholics joined communities of protest across the nation, a fire wall against that monstrous fire. The Boston Two, the Baltimore Four, the Catonsville Nine, the Milwaukee Fourteen, the Washington Nine, the New York Eight, the protests by Catholics, mainly priests, in Chicago, Newark, Brooklyn, Cleveland. Revolution? The score (let me be arrogant for a moment) is not a total loss.

But what of the revolution in law? The news is not good. I suggest that the facts are nothing short of lamentable. Today the law, and the mentality of those who make and enforce and teach and study the law, is changing too slowly; the headlong facts of social change are edging them offstage.

But there is more bad news to be told; the law, as presently revered and taught and enforced, is becoming an enticement to lawlessness. Lawyers and laws and courts and penal systems are nearly immobile before a shaken society, which is making civil disobedience a civil (I dare to say a religious) duty. The law is aligning itself more and more with forms of power whose existence is placed more and more in question. Lawyers, law students, and law professors have not raised their voices with any audibility against a monstrous, illegal war.

So if they would obey the law, men are being forced, in the present crucial instance, either to disobey God or to disobey the law of humanity. Indeed, obedience to American law, as purveyed and parlayed by many lawyers, as enforced in many courts, as punished in many jails, exacts, in many crucial instances, the violation of the rudimentary common sense requirements of a civilized conscience.

The law allows, on the other hand, a weird and possibly ruinous kind of selectivity in enforcement. The criminal activity of many men in power goes unscrutinized, while those whose despair or alienation drives them into the streets are prosecuted with all possible rigor. Differing criteria? Double standards? Of course—whether in respect of prompt-

ness or of rigor, when the law is applied, say, to a policeman, an Afro-American, a corporation executive, a clergyman, a dissident student.

Some are co-opted in principle. Some are protected in principle. And the result is predictable. A man is driven to break the law as a strict requirement of being a man at all. The law turns its screws on the limbs of decent men. A few resolve on heroism, most settle for complicity, simply because they are not heroic. The legal system suppresses human decency as a societal resource, because good men are not able to be heroic men. They are forced into objective evil, into evil obedience, because the law that claims them is intent on—what? Survival? Prestige? Big money? The pursuit of power?

I should like to sharpen the issue. The law profession, I submit, is one among several professions that, in the larger world of men, are simply acting against man. The leading American law schools are producing large numbers of lawyers every year whose professional life is a hideout from social change and human issues. Such schools produce judges who prosecute men like my brother and myself, instead of prosecuting the men who are prosecuting a genocidal war. They produce lawyers who peddle the American line at the United Nations, at embassies throughout the world, in government programs that mask or openly purvey retrograde nationalistic aims, compounded of militarism, nationalism, limited but no less looting wars. And if the present is any measure of the future, such schools strengthen a corporate system bent in the direction of more and more American economic hegemony abroad, more and more firmly imbedded poverty and racism at home.

The law profession, in fact is connecting with fewer needs, fewer issues, and fewer men. Need we linger over the dolorous fact that the legal profession has just produced a new President of the United States? Charity, or depression of spirit, forbids further comment.

Now the really dolorous fact is not that Mr. Nixon is an anomaly; in the legal profession, as lawyers advance toward power, Mr. Nixon is, in fact, typical. He is, in fact, pure American, vintage 1970. Within an arrangement that functions on behalf of fewer and fewer people, the system is continuing to work for him. He has undoubtedly never had reason to reflect upon the ironic statement of Florence Nightingale, writing from the Crimea to England in the nineteenth century: "I am not certain as to the purpose of a hospital," wrote the lady, "but I am fairly certain that a hospital is not meant for the spreading of disease." Mr. Nixon, I venture to say, has never had reason to seek medical aid in a hospital that was, in fact, dedicated to the spreading of disease—I speak of the public wards of most city hospitals today. No, if he or his family require

medical attention, they get it promptly and expertly. To extend the matter, if his family seeks a school they find one; given their suppositions about education, it will be a good one. If they need the services of the courts or the law, its skills will immediately bend in their direction. They are, as their photos convey, people of health and well-being, well-housed, well-fed, well-policed, well-churched, well-armed against the stings and arrows of fate.

Many Americans, however, and the majority of men throughout the world, are not so armed, not so housed, not so fed, not so spoken for by church and state. Throughout the world, medical aid does, in fact, spread disease (either by its ineptitude or its grievous absence). Most men on earth are ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed; and if to break out of this noose of despair they transgress the law, the law closes the noose with a jerk, and those who are dying slowly, die in a moment.

The point of all this, it seems to me, is a perception of our relationship to this total world scene. Given the fact that the American machine is not working well, either in its inner gears, or in its meshing with the world, good men must take action. Some of them, in the practical order of events, must be willing to go to jail, rather than to remain good citizens at large. That is to say, they must be willing to respond to what they see when they look at the machine, when they hear it misfiring, when they see human blood staining its gears. The machine has been programmed to dump out of one spigot a vast arsenal of lethal military junk (80.5 billion dollars in the current budget for war and war preparation), out of another, a diminishing trickle of services (some 11 billion dollars for all health, education, and welfare services). Someone, as a strict requirement of sanity and logic, must be willing to say a simple thing: "The machine is working badly." And if the law of the machine, a law of military and economic profit enacted by generals and tycoons, must be broken in favor of the needs of man, let the law be broken. Let the machine be turned around, taken apart, built over again. Let the irrational power that set it to its evil production be made to listen to reason.

A few years ago, most of us of the Catonsville Nine had not thought so harshly about our social machinery. I, for one, had never before May 1968 violated a civil law. This was one experience that the nine defendants shared in common. From Guatemala to North Vietnam to Africa to the inner cities of New York, New Orleans, Washington, Newburgh, and Baltimore we had kept the law, had worked within the law, had believed that change was possible through the law. For many years we had believed that being good Americans was an acceptable secular task; within it we could work out our vocation as Christians.

But suddenly, for all of us, the American scene was no longer a good scene. It was, in fact, an immoral scene, corrupted by a useless and wasting war abroad, and a growing, petrifying racism at home. Ours was a scene that moral men could not continue to approve if they were to deserve the name of men. The American scene, in its crucial relationships—the law, the state, the Church, other societies, our own families—was placed in mortal question. Quite a charge, quite an indictment! Indeed, the change we underwent was so devastating that one misses the point entirely if he sees the Catonsville act as merely a protest against this or that aspect of American life. Catonsville, rightly understood, was a profound “No” aimed not merely at a federal law that protects human hunting licenses. Our act was aimed, as our statement tried to make clear, at every major presumption underlying American life today. Our act was in the strictest sense a conspiracy; that is to say, we had agreed together to attack the working assumptions of American life. Our act was a denial that American institutions were presently functioning in a way that good men could approve or sanction. We were denying that the law, medicine, education, and systems of social welfare (and, above all, the military-paramilitary styles and objectives that rule and overrule and control these others) were serving the people, were including the needy, or might be expected to change in accord with changing needs, that these could enlist or embody the resources of good men—imagination, moral suppleness, pragmatism, or compassion. We were denying that any major structure of American life was responding seriously on behalf of the needs of young people, of black people, of poor people, of working people, of Church people, of passionate people—as such men scrutinized their institutions, rightly expecting decent performances of them.

We dared a great deal, as it turned out. We attacked an underlying, optimistic, unassailably stubborn presupposition: that the American instance is in fact a good example of the way civilized men conduct themselves; the supposition that domestically, American institutions serve as a model for human assembly, for dispensing justice, medical services, religious needs, the needs of the poor.

And in attacking the American assumption, we were beyond any doubt attacking the law and its practitioners. We were attacking the assumption that lawyers are capable of embodying a legal tradition and of serving us. We were attacking the assumption that American law, in its present form, can represent us, mediate our sense of justice, judge our actions, punish us.

So our act was in fact dangerous to a point that society promptly recognized. It was dangerous, as evidence of health must always be a

danger to neurotic anxiety, illness, dread of life, despair, acedia, fear. Believe me, the burning of draft files by men and women like us is a kind of preliminary and particular judgment. It has to do with the end of a long patience. Which is to say, when people like us grow conscious of the fact that the jails and the courts are a necessary other end of our Vietnamese folly, then places of power and those who occupy them are indeed in danger. Men who share from birth the benefits of American life, do not commonly turn against their peers so quickly, so unequivocally. Neither kooks nor hippies nor rabid blacks, but imagine! Straight clergy, middle class, white, religious men and women—what's happening, anyway?

I have perhaps suggested enough of the implications of Catonsville, both to reassure and to shatter. To reassure: We were aiming at the law. To shatter: We were aiming beyond the law. We aimed at a social change, in a time of paralysis and dread; our hope was modest and thoughtful. We were not asking for an apocalyptic, overnight change in the character of the law of the land. We were demanding, believe it or not, no more than a minimal observance of the laws that stood upon the books. We were asking lawyers and judges for a minimal insistence on obedience to that law. We were insisting that if those in high places obeyed the law, there would be no reason for us to break the law. We were asking for a President who would obey the mandate that had given him office. We were asking for police forces that would eschew violence as their primary tactic. We were demanding that citizens accept the law of the land with regard to equal access to education and housing and jobs, for all, white or black.

Our hopes were modest. But in the rapid explosions of public fury since 1954, our hopes one by one were dashed. Law and order were violated almost universally. They were violated first of all and most frequently by those who cried to us as a slogan of social salvation, "Law and order!" The citizenry were racist, the police were violent, the Congress was delinquent, the courts were conniving, the President was expanding an undeclared war. It went on and on, an interlocking dance of death, a celebration of horror.

Then we resolved to act. The facts of the action I have described earlier; its outcome is before the courts.

I conclude on a word of hope. Our lives are part of a vast social paradox; the affluent are often eaten by secret despair, yet those who place their lives and good names in jeopardy are lit by an inextinguishable joy and hope. Indeed, we have such strong hope in the power of life, and in the vitality of our society, as to test our lives rigorously at

the hands of power. We wish indeed to discover whether or not our society is dying in its main parts, or whether some mysterious new man is being born. Our act was the kind of surgical probe of which the poet T. S. Eliot speaks: "In order to be healed, our illness must grow worse."

From a certain point of view we have worsened the public condition of things. We have embarrassed good men, among them our own friends and associates in the university and in the Church. We have hardened the hearts of many who seemed to be softening toward ideals of peace and domestic justice. But such a hope would only be another form of illusion, unless it were exploring the secret and unadmitted recesses of despair and illness, which are the other side of national optimism.

So be it. We have tried to underscore with our tears, and if necessary with our blood, the hope that change is still possible, that Americans may still be human, that death may not be inevitable, that a unified and compassionate society may still be possible. On that hope we rest our case.

The Coming Confrontation on the Church's War Investments

During the past year I had the chance to work in a political campaign in one of the nation's wealthiest states whose affluence springs in no small part from fat defense contracts. Since one does not readily bite benevolent hands, we campaigners were wary at first of raising the thorny issue of "conversion" from a military to a peacetime economy. We were well aware of the many good arguments for conversion. A peacetime economy, in which dwelling houses and schools replace tanks and missiles, is at once more stable and more directly productive. Also, if our economy really depends for its health on war and the production of arms, its ultimate self-destruction is not only possible but probable. There must be some curbing of the military-industrial monster that is alienating our children and warping our values.

Gradually, as the campaign went on, it became clear that a broad cross section of the state's residents was willing to lend a sympathetic ear to these arguments. Workers and suburban housewives, students and businessmen saw economic conversion as one of the priority items on the agenda for the "newer world" that Robert Kennedy and others sought in the 1960s. It seemed indeed that an updated version of populism, or "people's politics," had developed—grounds for hope that, given the

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right issues and candidates, the ballot might become a means of social transformation during the 1970s.

Thus we launched a campaign on economic conversion, the initial success of which encouraged me to believe that similar success is possible on the issue of the church's war investments. At present more than a billion Protestant denominational dollars are invested in companies which produce the bulk of this nation's armaments. That is one way of saying that the church, like almost all stock market operators, invests its funds without seriously attempting to assess the moral, religious or theological effects of such stewardship on the health of the Body of Christ.

The fact of the church's stake in war production is all the more difficult to digest in view of official church positions on peace, the social order, the crisis in the nation, etc. While official statements on such issues may not in general tend to identify capitalism as the root of many social evils, they surely call the corporate establishment to responsible stewardship of its resources. In the past, criticism of the church's investment policies has not been wanting, but this matter of war investment promises to open up a campaign of criticism that could well result in sweeping reforms. Among the questions that will doubtless be raised in the course of the coming confrontation are these: What about the representative nature of a system in which investment policy for Protestant millions is determined by a small group of men (almost no women, very few clergy) who sit at the top of America's corporate establishment? Are the criteria now used in allocating huge sums for "new church development" really such as to help create a church genuinely responsive to Jesus Christ? To what extent, if any, are pension fund investments made with a view to shoring up the market? It seems obvious that we are entering a phase in which church renewalists will be paying strict attention to the actual performance of institutions, as opposed to their professions. And since the war investment issue broadens naturally to include questions of the relation of church interest to national interest, it is to be assumed that the coming confrontation will set off major debates throughout the ecclesiastical institution.

I

In all probability the first shot of the war on war investment will be fired at the Episcopalians' triennial meeting in Houston in mid-October. At that meeting members of the Submarine Church Action Network (SCAN) plan to release statistics showing the extent of Protestant involvement in war investment. Conceivably, if major confrontations then

develop, conservative forces will cite the SCAN move at Houston to justify the notion that only a tiny minority favors a direct challenge to the ecclesiastical establishment on this issue.

Perhaps a fairer test of Protestant opinion on church war investment will be provided later this fall, when Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV), using extensive recent research into the complicity of selected corporations in war, racism, pollution and Third World oppression, launches a proxy fight campaign in which the churches will challenge the corporations (somewhat after the manner of Ralph Nader's assault on GM last spring). Presumably, the object of this campaign is to sensitize both churchmen and corporations, and ultimately the whole nation, to the need for greater responsibility, new priorities, and the reform of the system. CALCAV staffers theorize that the proxy fight—in which a bishop might bring the proxies of church members and institutions into stockholders' meetings to gain public leverage—will be a means of countering U.S. imperialism of the sort that led to our Vietnam engagement. The fundamental assumption here is that the church has corporate leverage precisely because, as one stockholder among many, it is deeply involved in the system. To adopt H. R. Niebuhr's statement: the basic CALCAV model of confrontation seems to presuppose that, in order to be creatively *against* culture, the church must be the Body of Christ *in* culture.

II

A second model of confrontation is being developed by a coalition of renewal-oriented groups—Jonathan's Wake, the People's Church Caucus, the Submarine Church Action Network, Baxton's Raiders, members of the Free Church—Win With Love network—together with a large number of younger Christians and older grass-roots lay people and clergy concerned with renewal. The goal of these organizers is to induce the church to divest itself of war investments — that is, to sell its shares in corporations that hold major defense contracts, perhaps retaining one share in order to have the right to appear at company meetings.

This campaign will be officially opened in New York city on November 12-13 when grass-roots forces will gather at the Interchurch Center for a Mobilization to End the War in the Churches. Though there may be demonstrations and guerrilla-theater happenings, the stress will be on two formal events: (1) a public hearing on church war investments to which clergy who sit on major investment committees will be invited to suggest ways of moving beyond current practices; and (2) the drafting of a platform or "Bill of Rights" for churchmen in the 1970s — a document

to be widely circulated as the basis for grass-roots action during the years ahead.

The hope of the campaign organizers is that forces favoring a proxy-fight approach will also recognize the moral and theological need of divestment as the goal of responsible stewardship. Among the arguments to this end, the following seem most convincing:

First, there are real questions about the propriety of church investment in secular business enterprises of any sort. The relevant text here is Jesus' parable of the talents, coupled with his saying that to those who have, more shall be given. (Notice that Jesus made no comment on the consequences of this latter axiom.) If these two passages imply the possible legitimacy of capital investment for financial gain on the part of Christ's (tax-exempt) Body, we might answer that the investment performance of many church institutions has been far less than might be expected. McGeorge Bundy's exhortation to universities to stretch their endowment dollars through more adventurous investment policies might be equally pertinent to the men responsible for the deployment of Protestant moneys.

But suppose — as is more likely — that the New Testament evidence favors the raising up of the oppressed, the investment of resources in Kingdom-building, and the conception of the church as a body of people traveling without much material baggage on its pilgrimage through this fallen world. And suppose that Matthew 25, along with the Beatitudes, were taken as a guideline for church investment committees. Then surely there would be some willingness to reflect on the present policy of lending money (investments are a form of lending) to corporations which see the production of weapons and the supply of armies as part of *their* discipleship.

The most obvious objection to this first point is that investment committees have only one function; namely, to milk the world in any way possible in order to build up the Kingdom which *is* the institutional church. On this reading, the function of the stewards of our endowments is not to criticize the performance of corporations or of the nation-state, but simply to look to the financial betterment of the church. This is known as not letting one hand know what the other is doing. Perhaps it is this kind of mentality that has produced in America a church too generally acculturated, too acquiescent in the patterns ordained by the state, to tolerate the prophetic in her midst. Somehow the church must be delivered from the notion that worldly relevance can be attained by marching in secular demonstrations. The true "social action" would be to correct the double standard which enables the ecclesiastical establishment to fund altruistic programs with the profits of war and exploitation. We need a Mobilization to End the War in the Churches.

A second reason for divestment is that it would symbolize the unwillingness of the church to acquiesce in the American system insofar as that system runs counter to biblical values. Divestment would be a serious formal step toward freeing the church from complicity in a governing establishment that hoards the world's resources, discriminates around the globe by color, refuses to make more than token efforts to stave off ecological wrath, and continues to fight the war in Indochina. It is not enough for individuals to speak out; there must be a corporate prophetic utterance. The sheer moral vulnerability of church practice in the economic realm can provide the occasion for sweeping reform which symbolizes this needed prophetic utterance. We white Protestants failed to respond prophetically to the clarion call of the black churches (cf. the Oakland Statement of the National Committee of Black Churchmen). Are we going to fail on this issue in our own house? Is it too late for institutional repentance? I believe not. For there are now those in every judicatory of the church who will raise with indisputable moral clarity the demand that its present stewardship practices be reformed.

A third reason (to cite only one more among many) for ridding the church of war investments is the urgent need to define the spirit of the new church which we hope will emerge from such undertakings as the Consultation on Church Union (COCU). Despite the attempt (at last spring's COCU plenary in St. Louis) to pass resolutions calling the churches to discuss substantive issues of power and finance, the COCU powers-that-be seem unwilling to take this bull by the horns. Such defensiveness at the top can only help further to alienate black churchmen who see little hope in COCU anyway. In consequence, white renewalists will refuse to support the creation of a fundamentally white structure merging many of the worst features of present white structures. Thus these renewalists may soon be pushed into forming a new church — possibly along COCU lines but divorced from the COCU establishment. I submit that this sad scenario can be improved only by the immediate and resolute refusal of renewal forces to allow the churches any longer to avoid changing their present status as silent partners in an imperialistic American society.

I devoutly pray that people in and outside the institutional church will seize the time, come together on the issue of stewardship, and develop at long last a movement looking to the re-creation of the church as an instrument of Christian reconciliation in the world. This cannot take place without serious confrontation. But perhaps we know this year — if we did not last — that confrontation means neither the denial of love nor the death knell of institutions, but rather a mode of reform.

III

The Church and Civil Rights

The role of religion in dealing with the issue of civil rights has caused a polarization of positions. Only recently have more moderate stances begun to be heard again. Forming into camps of immediate action for civil rights versus no action, the first real involvement in modern secular-social-religious issues began. Dating back to the march in Selma, Alabama, the church visibly and forcefully entered the secular world. The next three selections focus on varying elements of the problem.

Jeffrey Hadden points first to the great disparity which exists between clergy and laity on the issue of civil rights and on most social issues. He states that clergy, though committed themselves, have preferred to deal with racial justice in abstract theological terms rather than meeting the issue head on. This disparity in action versus the inevitable congregation-minister conflict if action does occur leads to real problems for activist clergy.

An account by a leading activist is provided by James Groppi. Having been arrested for militant action (conviction

recently overturned by the Supreme Court), Groppi states, "the Church has a moral responsibility to become involved in whatever way necessary to bring about social change." This article describes a variety of human conditions which Groppi says have developed from racial injustice. Given the example of Christ as the leading revolutionary, Groppi demands social action in bringing about a society of brotherhood.

The final selection focuses on a specific response to social action. The attempts to integrate the First Baptist Church of Birmingham, Alabama, lead to a minister's resignation and a church split by racial prejudice.

The problems of leadership are clearly demonstrated in this unit. How far can a pastor go before he causes an unhealable split in the congregation? Must unity be preserved at the cost of right? Must the church be compromised to maintain its existence? These are questions the reader should ask himself as he explores the church and civil rights.

Clergy Involvement in Civil Rights

The record of the American churches in the struggle to achieve civil rights, is, at best, ambiguous. To deny, as some critics have, that the churches have played any positive role in the struggle for social justice in this country is demonstrably false and a significant distortion of history. However, the balance of evidence is much less on the side of the angels than many of those associated with the churches would like to believe. The late Robert Spike, who, in his role as Director of the National Council of Churches' Commission of Religion and Race, did much to draw the churches into the struggle, was not far from the truth when he wrote: "The outstanding fact about the churches is that with some major exceptions they have aided and abetted the Anglo-Saxon white conspiracy over the years."¹

Among many kinds of evidence, one fact stands out as a compelling indictment of the churches' role in the struggle for social justice: those who are involved in religious institutions are no less prejudiced or racist than those who are uninvolved. In fact, those who are most involved in the institutional life of the church and personal expressions of pietism are somewhat more prejudiced than those who are less involved or not involved at all.² This is a reality that cannot be rationalized or defined

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away. The fact of the matter remains that religious leaders have not been very successful in convincing their constituency that the Gospel has something to do with brotherhood, love, and justice.

In juxtaposition to this reality is the Gospel's interpretation in the lives of some of the clergy themselves. The symbol of the clerical collar in the picket line or protest march became a central part of the imagery of the civil rights struggle during the 1960's. But just as certainly as there has been clergy involvement in the struggle for social justice in the past decade, so too, has there been opposition to this involvement—so much so that the issue threatens to tear the churches apart during the coming decade.

All of this has not occurred in a vacuum or a sea of tranquility. Internally, the churches were facing the interlocking crises of meaning and purpose, belief and authority, long before the civil rights movement came along.³ What the civil rights struggle did was to bring all these things to a head.

Clergy have been in the process of recognizing a disparity between their doctrines and practices for a long time. For many clergymen, the civil rights issue emerged as a crystal-clear moral issue. They could no longer preach brotherhood and love while ignoring the plight of black Americans. At first, only a few strayed from their pulpits to join in the front ranks of the movement. But their numbers grew, and the institutional response increased with the creation of hundreds of commissions and committees on religion and race. Clergy were marching and organizing all over the country. The Selma march in 1965 drew several thousand clergy. Although less courageous than many acts of protest engaged in by clergy, this was, perhaps, the largest confession of guilt by professional leaders in the entire history of Christendom. But throughout the decade, church involvement in the civil rights struggle was coterminous with clergy involvement. With few exceptions, church laymen were not there.

Clergy involvement in the civil rights struggle has made dramatic journalism. Many were beaten by ugly mobs and Gestapolike police. Hundreds were hauled off to jail; a few gave their lives; and an indeterminate number lost their pulpits because their words and deeds were too strong for the members of their congregations who wished to occupy comfortable pews in a sanctuary which they had created in order to escape from the world.

Journalistic interest, however, was not matched by an equal enthusiasm among social scientists for studying the dynamics of this unprecedented involvement of clergy. By midway through the decade, only one team of social scientists had completed a systematic study of the role of clergy and the church in the civil rights struggle.⁴

My own interest in the involvement of clergy in the civil rights movement emerged in late 1964, shortly after I had agreed to work with the late Kenneth Underwood on the Danforth Study of Campus Ministries.⁵ Unfortunately, many of my insights came too late to enable me to ask many of the right questions in the national survey that we sent to over ten thousand campus and parish clergymen in six major Protestant denominations in early 1965. Fortunately, however, Underwood's keen insight into the significance of these developments led him to permit me to utilize the study's resources, at his own personal sacrifice, in ways that were not central to the task that he was charged with completing for the Foundation. As a result, it was possible to move our understanding of the clergyman's role in the civil rights struggle beyond the speculations of journalism and, at the same time, to see this phenomenon in the context of the broader struggles that are taking place in the churches.

ATTITUDES

Clergy, as a group, are probably more deeply concerned about civil rights and social justice than any other group in our society — including students. In 1965 only 7 percent of the Protestant clergy in this country said that they basically disapproved of the civil rights movement. In sharp contrast, 44 percent of the adult Protestant population disapproved of the civil rights movement.⁶ Two-thirds of the clergy indicated that they were sympathetic with Northern ministers and students who were going South to work for civil rights, while only one-third of their laity felt this way. More than four-fifths of the laity as compared with one-fifth of the clergy agreed with the stereotype of the Negro as carefree, lazy, and irresponsible. More than three years later, nearly half of the college seniors in America agreed with this blatant stereotype.⁷

In December 1966, Glenn Trimble asked delegates to the National Council of Churches Triennial Assembly how they felt about the rate of progress toward racial integration in the United States.⁸ Only 6 percent of the clergy responded "too fast," and more than two-thirds said "not fast enough." A few weeks earlier, pollster Lou Harris had asked the same question to the American public. In dramatic contrast, 70 percent of the white sample said that racial integration was moving too fast, and only 4 percent felt the progress was not fast enough.

These are but a few of many examples that show the attitudinal differences of clergy and lay populations of America on the civil rights issue. On every aspect, clergy express far more liberal views than laity. But the evidence also indicates that the distance between clergy and laity is very

great on a whole variety of issues. For example, in 1968 Stanford political scientist Harold Quinley found dramatic differences between clergy and laity on the Vietnam war issue.⁹ Quinley found 57 percent of the clergy in California favoring a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, while only 21 percent of the public favored this position. Similarly, on a five-item hawk-dove scale, he found that the general public was two and a half times more hawkish than the clergy.

Although clergy have developed a social consciousness that will not permit them to compartmentalize their general views of social justice from specific applications in matters such as race, laity have not. Among clergy, age and theological orientation are important concomitants of attitudes on civil rights, as well as on other social issues. Younger clergy tend to be more liberal than their older colleagues. Clergy who describe themselves as theologically liberal or neo-orthodox are more sympathetic toward civil rights than are clergy whose theological orientation is conservative or fundamentalist. Younger clergy are more likely to be liberal or neo-orthodox in their theological outlook. When the relative impact of age and theological position were controlled, it was found that both do make a difference, but that theological position is the more important predictor.

Among laymen, we found that the younger tended to be more liberal on very general statements about civil rights, but as the statement became more specific in content, they tended to respond more like older age groups.¹⁰ Using an index of biblical literalism, which, for clergy, correlated very highly with their own self-perception, we found essentially no relationship among laity between religious beliefs and attitudes toward civil rights. In other words, as clergy move away from a literalist theological orientation, there is a very strong tendency for them to become more liberal about civil rights and other social issues. However, this relationship does not hold for laity.

While laity affirm belief in the basic principles of the American Creed—freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity—they reject the applications of this creed to Negroes and other minority groups. Moreover, the large majority reject the legitimacy of the clergyman's role in the struggle for social justice. The following responses to a national survey that I conducted in 1967 illustrate the process of compartmentalization of *general* and *specific* views:

ITEM

AGREEING (%)

The best mark of a person's religiousness is the degree of his concern for others.

Clergymen have a responsibility to speak out as the moral conscience of this nation.	82
Clergymen who participate in demonstrations and picketing do more harm than good for the cause they support.	72
I would be upset if my (minister/priest/rabbi) were to participate in a picket line or demonstration.	72
Martin Luther King, Jr., is an outstanding example of making Christianity relevant and meaningful for our day.	29

The large majority indicate that they believe that concern for others is a good indicator of one's religiousness. Similarly, a large majority assent to the abstract idea that clergy should speak out as the moral conscience of this country. Yet, in their attitudes toward the civil rights movement and its leadership, and in their feelings about clergy involvement in civil rights, they seem, in large part, to contradict these general beliefs about the role of religion and the clergy in the achievement of a moral and just society.

So long as the cognitive processes of the mind can separate general values from the specific implications of these values, it is possible to profess belief in one thing and practice something quite different without experiencing any inner conflict or tension. The civil rights crisis has been approached in precisely this manner by the majority of American churchgoers. General recognition of the deprivation of the American Creed of liberty and justice and the Gospel's creed of love and brotherhood to a minority of twenty million blacks does not, in itself, lead to the specific actions of remedy.

In spite of the liberal views of clergy, institutionalized religion has not confronted the civil rights issue in a way that has had much positive effect on the beliefs and practices of its membership. Rather, the church has permitted people to sit in comfortable pews and reaffirm belief in brotherhood and love while escaping the implications and applications of this belief, the real issues of social justice. Instead of heralding the challenge, and championing the cause, to re-create the world as a place that is "good" and "life-giving," a place wherein all men are seen as "created in his image and likeness," the churches have compromised their vision to more palatable charity bazaars and suppers for the far-away pagans and orphans. As did El Gallo to the Girl in *The Fantastics*, the church has offered its followers rose-colored glasses.

Part of the churches' failure must certainly result from the failure of many clergy to face the issues head-on. Many have preached brotherhood, but failed to underscore the brotherhood of *all* men. They have spoken in general or abstract terms, hoping that those in the pews would understand the specific implications. The implications, however, either remained mostly unperceived or, if recognized, usually led to pressures financial and otherwise, urging either different sermons or a different clergyman.

But there is also some evidence to suggest that the church's failure in the civil rights struggle is a function of its own belief system. A recent paper by Stark and Glock postulates that underlying ideological assumptions of Christian doctrine undergird and subtly support radical prejudice. They write:

Underlying traditional Christian thought is an image of man as a free actor, as essentially unfettered by social circumstances, free to choose and thus free to effect his own salvation. This free-will conception of man has been central to the doctrines of sin and salvation. For only if man is totally free does it seem just to hold him responsible for his acts, to punish him for his sins, and to demand repentance. . . . The significance of this for prejudice is that radical and traditional Christian images of man prompt those who hold them to put the blame for disadvantage upon the individuals who are disadvantaged. A radical free-will image of man makes for an inability to perceive the effect of those forces outside the individual which may utterly dominate his circumstances. . . . The simple fact seems to be that a great many church people, because they believe men are mainly in control of their own individual destinies, think that Negroes are largely to blame for their present misery.¹¹

Stark and Glock report that this free-will image of man tends to be more prevalent among the more active church members in their studies. Moreover, the free-willers are much more committed to conservative politics. In my own national survey of laymen, I found that 86 percent agreed that Negroes would be better off if they would take advantage of the opportunities that have been made available to them. Protestants were more likely than Catholics to agree with this view, and Jews were less willing to agree.

This theory is intriguing and has a certain compelling logic. Systematic examination of this proposition ought to rank high in the research priorities of social scientists who are interested in prejudice. If further research should point toward the validity of the thesis, it will be one of social science's most important findings.

While research data are yet insufficient to verify this theoretical proposition, there can be no escaping the conclusion that the churches have not succeeded in reducing prejudice among laymen. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly clear that clergymen's efforts to communicate their understanding of the implications of the Christian faith for race relations are encountering resistance. Whatever the underlying reasons, laity do not see the same implications. The more the clergymen urge these ideas, the greater the conflict. The critical question is how much urging clergymen are doing.

BEHAVIOR

Granted that clergy express deep concern for blacks and have quite liberal attitudes about issues of civil rights and social justice, how much have they been willing to do in order to match their words with deeds? This is not an easy question to answer because (1) the data available are much less systematic and (2) ambiguities accrue in measuring involvement. Is the clergyman who marches anonymously in a large group more involved than the minister who would not dream of carrying a picket sign, but is not afraid to hit civil rights issues head-on from the pulpit? The answer to the question is not at all obvious.

However, it does seem clear from the data available that clergy involvement in overt actions of protest for the cause of social justice is much greater than is generally believed by the American public. The average American thinks of social actionist clergy in terms of a very small minority of "nuts" or "kooks." There are reasons for this misperception of reality. One important dimension is the fact that many clergy participate anonymously—sans collar or other clerical identification and without the knowledge of their constituency. But a second important reason is that the image of a clergyman involved in protest is so foreign that the average person simply refuses to believe it.

I encountered firsthand experience of this selective perception very early in my studies of clergy involvement in protest. Picking up a newspaper, I commented to a desk clerk in the hotel where I was staying, "I see there were some ministers arrested in the demonstration yesterday." "Yeah," he replied, "I saw it on the news last night. They arrested Father X. They ought to lock him in the can and throw away the key." I then asked him if he was aware that there were thirty-nine clergymen arrested during the demonstration. Surprised, he replied, "You're kidding. There might be a few more nuts in the world like that Father X, but not right

here in this town." This man watched the television news report of that event. At least ten of the arrested clergy wore clerical collars.

Although systematic samples of clergy participation are not available, numerous case studies offer information on the extent of clergy involvement in civil rights activities. Since 1963 there have been three events in which large numbers of clergy have participated. The first was the 1963 Civil Rights March on Washington. The second was the Selma march in the spring of 1965. Because no records exist, it is impossible to determine just how many clergy were involved in each of these marches. Newspaper accounts vary widely, ranging from two thousand to more than ten thousand clergy participating in each of these marches. In the spring of 1967, approximately 2,600 clergymen and seminary students participated in a Clergy Mobilization March on Washington to protest the Vietnam war.

Local conflict situations are perhaps more revealing of the uneasiness of clergy about the civil rights crisis in this nation and of the extent of their mobilization in moments of crisis. In Cleveland, 221 clergymen (40 percent of the metropolitan area's white Protestant clergy) became involved in the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights during the educational crisis in that city in 1964. An indeterminate but not insignificant number of this group participated in picketing. Sixty percent of the group signed a statement released to the press demanding the resignation of the Board of Education. During the summer of 1965, 444 civil rights demonstrators were arrested in two days of protesting in Chicago. One quarter of this group were clergymen and nuns. In 1966, 132 Detroit clergymen signed a statement pledging civil disobedience and submission to arrest if Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh did not respond to housing demands of the poor.

These are but examples. The evidence seems clear that involvement of clergy is considerably more extensive than "a very small minority." The nature of involvement, of course, varies enormously. Similarly, activists do not emerge at random from the ranks of the clergy. We have already noted that younger and theologically liberal clergy tend to have more liberal views about civil rights. Hence, we would expect them to be more involved in activist roles, and, indeed, this is the case. Social-structural variables, however, seem to be more important in determining whether or not a clergyman will play an activist role. In my case studies, I was able to isolate three critical factors.

The first is the stance taken by his denomination, or in the case of a Catholic priest, the position of his bishop. The stronger the denominational position, the greater the probability of a clergyman's involvement. The second, and most critical, structural factor is the type of position the

clergyman occupies. Nonparish clergy are much more involved in direct protest action and militant strategies than those clergymen who serve a congregation. The third factor is the presence of group support. Group interaction serves to reinforce the members' sense of the legitimacy of the concern and also tends to raise the level of commitment of individual members. In several cases that I observed, clergy initially joined together for the purpose of discussing a problem without any intention of taking action. But the group reinforcement and the perception of the problem as critical then led to collective action.

Involvement, of course, may not be the result of interaction with other clergy. In many cases, the involvement emerges through efforts to minister to persons or groups of minority status. For example, the inner-city clergyman who is attempting to relate to a gang may find that his credibility with the group is dependent upon getting involved. Protest is a symbolic gesture of his commitment and concern for their problems. But, even here, the group process is the same. The group reinforces the legitimacy of the cause—supports, and indeed encourages, what they perceive as appropriate behavior. Having identified with the group, the clergyman must act in accordance with the group's expectations or be rejected.

In the attitudinal data above, we saw that three-quarters of the laity say that they would be upset if their minister became involved in social protest. Dozens of case studies indicate that they frequently become upset enough to dismiss the minister. But just as selective perception takes place in viewing the media's reporting of clergy involvement in civil rights protests, so, too, does this happen in interpreting conflict in the local congregation. For every minister who had been dismissed because his stance on issues of social justice was too bold, there are several others who were dismissed for "neglecting their parish duties" or some similar charge. Also, in some denominations, built-in expectations of relatively frequent pulpit changes have obviously quenched many a brewing fire.

THE YEARS AHEAD

The civil rights movement, as it was symbolized and personified by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is now dead. For the moment, at least, blacks are largely committed to going it alone. These developments had the immediate effect of taking the pressure off clergymen to find overt expression for their consciences. But the lull did not last long. While blacks were busy working out their own thing, clergy began to heed the call of students to resist the war effort in Vietnam.

Virtually every war in history has been fought in the name of a deity. This nation has never experienced more than token resistance to its military efforts from the clergy. But all this is now prologue. Although clergy are much more divided on the war issue than they are about civil rights, there is a growing sentiment among them that the war is morally wrong, and consequently, they have become an important part of the war-resistance movement.

Quinley's California data again provide evidence that clergy involvement in the antiwar movement is not an isolated development by a very small minority.¹² Twenty-nine percent of the clergy in his sample were classified as hawks. The theologically conservative Southern Baptists and Missouri Synod Lutherans, who represented only 18 percent of the sample, accounted for more than half the hawks. Among the theological liberals, only 8 percent were hawks.

Of those who are most dovish (about 35 percent of the total sample), 85 percent believe it is appropriate to express one's convictions by participating in an antiwar protest march. Moreover, almost three-quarters approve of civil disobedience. Nineteen percent have actually participated in an antiwar protest, and 7 percent have committed acts of civil disobedience. These are the most extreme forms of protest behavior. A substantial number have engaged in "lesser" forms. More than a third have joined peace organizations. Almost half have attended a protest meeting. The same proportion have organized study groups. Four-fifths have delivered sermons on the war. More than half have signed a petition, and almost the same percentage have written a public official.

These figures certainly indicate a fairly high level of participation. Quinley does not report differences in participation by place of residence. It is clear, however, that clergy residing in metropolitan areas were more involved than clergy from smaller communities. One can only speculate, but the participation rate among clergy in the San Francisco Bay area must have been very high.

The Vietnam war is much more complex than the civil rights issue. Ideologically, it is much more an unsettled issue. The cross-pressures have resulted in laity's expressing somewhat greater tolerance of clergy involvement than has been the case with civil rights. Nonetheless, Quinley reports that local parishioners were more than twice as likely to discourage a minister's antiwar activities as they were to encourage him. One-quarter of the doves report losses in financial contributions to their churches, and approximately the same proportion report some loss of membership. About one in ten indicated that there had been an organized effort to have him removed from his pulpit.

These data lend support to my thesis that the civil rights movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's unleashed a deep sense of social consciousness among clergy that must find expression in social action and an ongoing commitment to the creation of a more just world. The data also reaffirm the layman's uneasiness about the widening gap between his perceptions and those of the clergy on the meaning and purpose of the church.

In the spring of 1969, the churches faced a new crisis—perhaps with more far-reaching implications than any development of a decade that was already unprecedented in turmoil for religious institutions. On April 26, James Forman presented a "Black Manifesto" to the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC). The assembled voted to adopt the Manifesto by a 3 to 1 margin. The following week, Mr. Forman presented the Manifesto to the General Board of the National Council of Churches. The core of the Manifesto: a demand that the churches of America pay \$500 million in reparations to blacks for injustices resulting from slavery.

The American public responded to the Black Manifesto as though it were a sick joke. The NCC's General Board responded in deadly earnest:

The General Board records its deep appreciation to Mr. James Forman for his presentation of an explanation concerning the Black Manifesto and shares the aspirations of the Black people of this country from which it sprang. . . . The Board urges that the communions [denominations] give serious study to the Manifesto, expecting that each communion will act on the matter in its own way.

In the months that followed, Forman and the NBEDC did not collect very much of the demanded reparations—which were raised to \$3 billion—but the churches were trembling at their foundations. Again and again, as the denominations held their annual meetings, the Black Manifesto was the key item on the agenda. The schisms cut in several directions, but, again, the deepest rift was between clergy and laity.

In August, the *New York Times* reported the results of its own study of church finances, showing that the national programs of the major Protestant denominations are suffering their first cutback in funds since the depression.¹³ Hardest hit are the social-action programs. Perhaps even more significant is the fact that these cutbacks largely occurred *before* the appearance of the Black Manifesto. Denominational offices are being flooded with mail from laymen who are enraged that their church could even consider responding to Forman.

As the 1960's come to a close, the stage is set for the unfolding drama of the 1970's. There seems to be little hope for altering the course of conflict. The average church layman in America is not much different in his social views from the average John Q. Public. The large majority of Americans believe that black militants and college demonstrators have been treated too leniently. Nearly two-thirds believe that police should have more power and that constitutional rights should be denied those who are accused of criminal acts.¹⁴ Although we do not have an end-of-decade study of clergymen's views on these subjects, all the evidence indicates that they are largely at variance with these views. Clergy did much in the 1960's to aid institutional and legislative change in the area of human rights. If the churches are to survive the 1970's, the clergy must devote much more of their energies toward changing men's hearts.

NOTES

1. Robert W. Spike, *The Freedom Revolution and the Churches* (New York: Association Press, 1965), p. 69.

2. Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, "Prejudice and the Churches," in Charles Y. Glock and Ellen Siegelman, eds., *Prejudice U.S.A.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).

3. These themes are developed in Jeffrey K. Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969).

4. Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, *Christians in Racial Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959). Obviously, a major obstacle to studying the role of clergy has been the scarcity of research monies for "controversial" issues. Indeed, for much the same reason, the unfolding drama of the civil rights movement has not been studied nearly so systematically as it should have been.

5. Kenneth Underwood, *The Church, The University, and Social Policy*, 2 vols. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1969).

6. Details of my own investigation appear in Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches*.

7. Jeffrey K. Hadden, "The Private Generation." *Psychology Today* (October 1969).

8. Results of the Trimble study were reported in "A Study Report on the Miami Assembly," *Information Service*, May 6, 1967. A reanalysis of these data appear in Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches*, pp. 198-205.

9. Harold Quinley, "Hawks and Doves among the Clergy: Protestant Reaction to the War in Vietnam." *Ministry Studies*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1969.

10. An interpretation of this is developed in some detail in *The Gathering Storm in the Churches*, chap. 4: "Clergy and Laity View the Civil Rights Issue."

11. Stark and Glock, "Prejudice and The Churches," pp. 80-82.

12. Quinley, "Hawks and Doves among the Clergy."

13. *New York Times*, August 10, 1969.

14. *Newsweek*, vol. 74, no. 14, October 6, 1969.

The Church and Civil Rights

When I am helping the Milwaukee N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council in a civil rights action, the phone rings often with requests from people who want me to come on a sick call. When a secretary tells the caller that she will obtain another priest and tries to get a name and address, the indignant retort is, "You mean a dying person cannot see this priest? What did he become a priest for? Why doesn't he stay where he belongs?"

This bespeaks a common mentality found in the Church today. It sees the role of clergyman and Church as involved solely with the life hereafter. It dichotomizes religion, dichotomizes man. Here is the temporal order; there, the supernatural. The Church is narrowly to confine itself to the supernatural realm and close its eyes to the needs of suffering humanity. The Christian, in patterning his life in a similarly blind fashion, is to go to church each Sunday and conform to Church legalisms.

Quite to the contrary was the gospel preached by Jesus Christ. Christ never preached noninvolvement. The Gospels celebrate the good news of Christ's concern for suffering humanity. His concern was such that he fed the hungry—the story of the loaves and fishes. His concern was such that he cured the sick and the lame and made the blind man see. Because of his concern for the loneliness of the widow, he raised her son back to life.

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Instead of spreading this good Word, we have reduced it to a list of do's and don't's; we have stripped it of life-giving power. To institute means to get going, but we institutionalize to the point of death. So close do we come to suffocation that the instinct of self-preservation takes over. We think only of more members, more funds—keep the institution going. We tend to forget the original purpose of the institution. The Church is to be the sign of Christ present in the world today, but our sign has become incredible. The Church, therefore, must refind and renew this very Christian and human concern for suffering humanity, for the needs of one's neighbor. The Church must constantly be putting into central focus the teaching of brotherhood, which, as Gandhi has said, is common to all religions.

The very title under which I am writing, "The Church and Civil Rights," is comprehensible to our compartmentalized mentality only as a violation of the separation of Church and state. Yet once we have really accepted the radical notion that God is the Father of us all, then we see our fellowman, not as part body and part spirit, but as a brother from whom we will not be separated, especially if he is in need. And we see the injustice of festering a brother's wounds by telling him that he will be rewarded in another life. Distinctions raised by anyone which would effect a separation between us who are one family are as irrelevant as knowing the number of angels able to dance on a pinhead.

Rather, if the Church is to be at all relevant to the needs of suffering people, the cancer of racism which quarantines brother from brother must be wiped out. What we need to accomplish this renewal of Church and society are men of courage.

In city after city throughout this nation the issue of open housing is pressingly real. The mayors of these cities realize they have a moral hot potato in their hands. They consistently refuse to handle it; they try to throw it into the hands of the state, of the country, or of the people. They propose a referendum on the issue, a referendum which concerned people know cannot be won because of the number of bigots in our cities. Are not such actions akin to those of Pontius Pilate? Pontius Pilate had Christ before him and knew he was innocent. But because he was afraid he washed his hands and said, "I am innocent of the blood of this man. The responsibility is yours." Is not this exactly what the city leaders do in fearing to commit themselves?

All too often, too, the Church leaders have played the same role. We rationalize and politick, afraid to put ourselves completely on the line for what is right. We see evidence of the lack of commitment in regard to this matter of open housing. Although in 1966, the Bishops

Conference in Washington issued a statement pointing out the need for open housing and for the preparation and education of the White community for open housing, they did not outline a program of implementation. Official reaction in Milwaukee virtually negated the value of even such a statement by saying that this was putting the cart before the horse. The real problem was said to be employment. Yet the high rate of Negro unemployment and the frequency of job discrimination against black men has yet to be deplored by Church officials. The same is true of the third-rate schools found in the inner core. Nor have Catholic schools been integrated. In fact, we cannot even get a sermon outline on interracial justice.

To dichotomize the spiritual and temporal orders to maintain the old attitude of isolationism through preaching is in reality a betrayal of the teachings of Jesus Christ. Our words are hollow if we preach about man's obligation to God without underscoring man's responsibility to make God's presence visible in this world. Conforming to Church legalisms are meaningless if we are at odds with our brother. "If your brother has any grievance against you, leave your gift at the altar and go and make up with your brother; then come back and present your gift." It is amazing how we have fallen away from the teaching of Jesus Christ.

I recall an ex-marine coming to the Youth Council. This young Black man had been three and one half years in the marine corps, six months of which he spent fighting in Vietnam. When he came home, the young man and his wife sought a dwelling just two blocks beyond the ghetto area. The landlady, a gentle elderly woman, hesitated before telling them that she had already rented the place. The young man's wife confronted the owner, asking, "It's because we're Negro that you won't rent to us, isn't it?" The landlady tried excusing herself in her reply. "Well, I can't rent to you. What would the people downstairs think? What will the neighbors say?"

This was during the Advent season. I could not help but think that this elderly woman had probably gone to church each Sunday of her life. And probably every Christmas, she had heard about Mary and Joseph and how there was no room for them in the inn. Perhaps she had even wept over their plight—snow falling, Mary pregnant, and no room in the inn. Yet religion had become so irrelevant to her that in the face of the young man at her own door she did not see the face of Joseph. In the face of his wife she could not see the face of Mary. It is in just such situations that Christianity is at its test. Either the Church becomes involved completely in the struggle for social justice, or the Church should

close its doors because it has become like the Scribes and Pharisees whom Christ condemned, a whitened sepulchre.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has appropriately termed this "ecclesiastical gymnastics." Many of us get involved in the performance of certain liturgical functions as ends in themselves and thus never use them as a means of bringing the real message of Christ to the world. We must preach the Christian message of brotherhood and equality, and today in America with specific regard to racism; we must kill this evil in our society. We must constantly grow in our relationship to our brother.

There are those Christians who agree that racism is a moral evil but advocate prudence in removing it from society. They fear losing people as Church members; they fear losing money. If preaching the message of justice and brotherhood and the condemnation of racism means that half of our congregations are going to stop coming to church on Sunday we will lose millions of dollars. But perhaps the Church has to die, perhaps it has to be crucified, in order to experience resurrection.

The members of the Milwaukee Youth Council have been a source of inspiration to me because of their courage, because they are "shock troops" in the cause of love and justice. They always take the lead. During the early days of our open-housing demonstrations they were literally almost killed. We have all been in jail; we have all eaten tear gas. As the demonstrations progressed, as we were marching and singing together, we were growing in our relationship as brothers. White people and Black people were growing. In true intergroup relations, a person never ceases to grow. And the more we grow in brotherhood, the more we grow in the Spirit, for brotherhood and life in the Spirit, like the spiritual and temporal orders, are inseparable.

And this has ramifications in our concept of what constitutes morality. I believe that there is good and that there is bad. I do not believe that morality is synonymous with a negative attitude toward sex and abstinence from what we call bad language. Nor can what is moral be determined by what is socially acceptable, for society has set racist standards. Morality involves looking at what we are, children of God, and asking ourselves what strengths and what weaknesses we have contributed to the human family. I believe that all sin is social. Most basically, it is a separating of oneself from the family of men. When one sins he must obtain forgiveness and do penance by repairing the break that he has in some way caused. Self-mortification, such as fasting, may have its purpose, but a family reunion is essential, for herein lies our salvation.

Racism has thoroughly pervaded the American system. I do not believe anyone has escaped its influence. The effect of our segregated society is that Black children grow up with an inferiority complex and White children acquire a superiority complex. I believe that one of the best ways of effecting brotherhood is through Black Power. Black Power removes the Black man from a position of begging for what is rightfully his to a position of demanding. Black Power teaches him to respect himself. Through the proper use of Black Power, the superiority complex in the White community can be cured because the White man will learn to respect the Black man. Respect always precedes love. When the White man learns to respect the Black man, he can learn to love him, not in a paternalistic or condescending way, but as an equal brother.

To begin this process of growth, a person must first honestly admit that he does not understand his brother completely, that he does not understand people of another culture or ethnic group completely. He must realize that he must learn, that he must grow in understanding and develop spiritually. Only then can he advance.

The Youth Council, for example, had sweatshirts made that said, "Black and Beautiful." All people, Black and White, must learn this. We have traditionally given the color black an unfavorable connotation. We say blackball, black sheep, blacklist, all in contrast to, at worst, little white lies. But there is a tremendous white lie in this country, the lie that black is bad. We must combat this lie with truth if there is to be growth in the White community and in the Black community, growth which will result in one community. Honesty is something that we must all have if we are to be effective. We do not suddenly reach a point where we can say, "I am not prejudiced." Our attitude of mind must always be that I must grow in brotherhood and in understanding of my fellowman.

We must realize that racism permeates even our language. This became obvious when several people came to purchase sweatshirts and asked for one that said, "Black *but* Beautiful." We must come to see that black is not bad, not something beautiful in spite of being black. Black *is* beautiful and good.

All should have, and indeed all do have, a responsibility to become involved in the civil rights struggle. If we really believe in brotherhood, Whites as well as Blacks must be involved completely in some aspect of the struggle for equality. Unless a man is involved in this struggle, he becomes increasingly less and less human. It is a moral issue, a struggle between right and wrong, which concerns all mankind.

I cannot understand how a man who proclaims himself a follower of Jesus Christ could think and act as a racist. Christ worked with the poor, the Samaritans, the Publicans, the sinners, the afflicted, and all the others who were socially ostracized. He understood their problems; he had compassion for them in their suffering. He was crucified for his associations, for his defense of the unacceptable. Yes, he admonished the Samaritan woman at the well; but he did not call her "no good." He certainly did not suggest in any way that the nature of the woman's weakness had anything to do with the fact that she was a Samaritan. He never said that the Samaritan had to rise to a new height of morality before he could enjoy the right of freedom of association. In fact, Christ preferred the morality of the poor and of those relegated to a secondary status in society by reason of their ethnic origin. It was not the sins of the poor and the dispossessed and the unwanted that bothered him; rather, it was the hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees that disturbed him. Christ's attitude toward Pharisaism was expressed in his words, directed to the Scribes and Pharisees, "whitened sepulchres." John the Baptist used even stronger words, "offspring of vipers."

How many Whites, calling themselves Christian, are indicted by these words of Christ and the Baptist? They are so indicted because they want Black people to be as moral as they consider themselves to be. I do not deny the presence of weaknesses in the Black family structure. But it has been White racist attitudes and actions that have helped to destroy the Black family. I agree with William Stringfellow that it is wrong to talk about the weaknesses of the Black family without at the same time talking about its inherent strengths and beauty. It is wrong to talk about the emasculation of the Black male without talking about the defeminization of the White female. I can never tell Black people to pattern their lives after a supposedly more moral White society. The conduct of White society in this country has hardly been Christian.

This is partially understandable when the men who assume the role of Christian leadership themselves distort the teachings of the Jew from Nazareth, a distortion which stems as much from what they do not say and do as from what they do say and do—and when they do speak and do act, often such speech and action reflects only a partial commitment to Christian love and justice. Truly concerned clergymen do not waste their time, while sipping tea or martinis, gossiping about the personal problems of their parishioners. Unfortunately, the members of clerical sewing circles have little, if any, understanding of and empathy with the Black man in White America. They may talk about love or justice in their pulpits, but in practice they accept the racist ethos of the White power structure.

I have been in the past, and still am, critical of Church leadership in its lack of commitment to the Black man's struggle for equality. We have neglected our job of bringing Christ's word of justice and brotherhood to society today. I have been in the South and have seen there the lack of commitment of the Church on the part of many individuals. The excuse of Catholics down there was, "We really can't do much because we are only three percent of the population." My answer was simply, "Well, then, what have you got to lose?" A Benedictine priest, a Black man, told me a story of a group of sisters in Mississippi. He had asked them why they did not integrate their hospitals. They replied, "We can't, Father. The Ku Klux Klan sent us a letter saying that they would burn down the hospital if we tried to integrate." He answered, "That would be wonderful. You would all be martyrs for the cause of social justice and the brotherhood of man. For what better cause can a man die?"

It is only with caution that I speak of the South. Too often people have excused their own lack of concern for their neighbor by pointing at the South and calling this a Southern problem. Having worked primarily in the North, however, I can see the truth of the statement of Malcolm X—there is only one South in the United States; it is everything south of the Canadian border!

When Black people began to move in large numbers to Milwaukee's Near-North-Side, Whites fled to the suburbs. My own parish, St. Boniface, was once considered a flourishing Catholic parish of more than a thousand families. Yet these good Christian families who filled the church Sunday after Sunday sold their homes in panic when Black people rented next door or down the block. It makes one wonder what kind of religion was taught when there existed this complete lack of understanding of human and Christian brotherhood. The Milwaukee Archdiocese closed two of its churches in the inner core and moved one of these parishes to the suburbs. There were thousands of Black families in these neighborhoods—people who were hungry, people who needed clothes, people who needed jobs. But not enough of them were Catholic, so we closed our eyes to the needs of our Black brothers. Priests in the inner core were becoming fewer and fewer, and too few understood Black beauty and Black culture. When I was assigned to St. Boniface, I was told to work on getting converts. The irony of this struck me with its full force during a school boycott. We were forbidden to use our parish facilities for freedom schools. Hundreds of Black children were waiting on the steps to attend what they thought would be a freedom school. So I had to lead almost a thousand children to a Baptist church two blocks away. Forget about a third-rate school system; increase the number of Catholics! But we can no longer sit in comfortable rectories and ignore suffering

people. And that today we have several more priests assigned to work in the core of the city and assigned on the basis of interest is due, I believe, only to pressure and the focus of attention on problems such as I have been discussing here.

About twelve years ago I met a woman living in unbelievable poverty. She was living in the vicinity of what had once been St. Joseph's parish. The church had been torn down to make way for an expressway, and because of the exodus of the Whites to the so-called "better" sections of the city and to the suburbs, the church had been rebuilt in an affluent White neighborhood. There were more Catholics there than in the Black ghetto where the church had once stood, and this provided the rationale for not rebuilding the church in its original parochial area.

This woman, who had come from Mississippi, had five children. She had never learned to read and write because the White man in the South had told her she had no time for those things. All her life she had been called a "nigger." Early in life she had been taught that her proper function in life was to pick the White man's cotton and to satisfy his lust. So, she came to Milwaukee looking for a better life.

The people in the normal White parish do not know hunger; they do not fear that their children will be bitten by rats as they sleep on filthy mattresses at night in a hot stinking room. But she and her children knew what it was to be hungry, what it was to live with the presence of rats, what it was to breathe the stench of a deteriorating slum building.

She could not get any welfare money because she had not been in Milwaukee for a year. And what employer is going to hire a Black woman from Mississippi who cannot read or write? Finally, she found a job, picking chicken feathers for less than fifty cents an hour. But she got tired of begging to supplement for inadequate wages in order to feed her children. Yes, you guessed it. She became a so-called prostitute. She sold her body at night in order to feed her children the next day. The tragedy is not her prostitution but the judgment of White Christians who call her an adulteress. This reminds me of one of the Gospel incidents: the weeping woman crouching at the feet of Jesus, wanting to be condemned by him as she had been by the Pharisees. Listen to his words: "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone." How many White Christians have had the audacity to throw the first stone?

A kind of creative tension, such as that generated by the Milwaukee Youth Council, must continue if our society is to renew itself, if the Church is to become relevant and measure up to Christ's teachings of brotherhood and justice. How far we have to go was apparent one day

as I took several Youth Council members to look for a new headquarters. We had been discussing the need to have a place of our own, one large enough for meetings and rallies, along with office space in order that we might keep some records and answer our mail. We saw a place which would answer these needs. It stands there, a monstrous old Gothic church. Surrounding it are housing projects, alive with people, filled to capacity. The church and surrounding yard were spooky in their emptiness. With spires reaching toward the sky, here, physically symbolized, is dramatized the irrelevance of the Church.

During the Youth Council's demonstrations for open housing we have been criticized for our use of the church for what we call prayer gatherings or, in other terminology, freedom rallies. Here one is looking at the church-building from two different viewpoints. The criticism is generated by a culture which views the parish church as a place where one goes and remains in perfect silence, a place to contemplate a life after this one. In my own impression, this concept of the church building removes the Church from this world; it is more or less shut down, like a vacant building, and plays little part in people's lives. In contrast is the idea of the Church as viewed from a Black cultural background. A member of the Youth Council expressed this to me one evening at a rally. He said, "This to me is what the Church should be. It is a place where people of different races and different religions gather together in prayer, sing hymns, talk about our problems, the problems of suffering humanity. Then, from this gathering, as the people of God, we go forth and do something about suffering humanity."

In the Black community, the church-building has always been used for this purpose. A great many, though not all churches, were just such gathering places. People came together, talked over problems, and attempted to do something about them. Today when we demonstrate we preach a sermon, and the sermon is that there are inequities existing in society. When we protest, we are preaching justice. When we sing openly and loudly in church, when we discuss issues existent in society, we are praying because we are making religion relevant.

The teaching of Jesus Christ is the teaching of brotherhood and justice. This must be the role of the clergyman. When there are injustices existing in society, the Church has a moral responsibility to become involved in whatever way necessary to bring about social change. If there is a violation of the social teaching of the Church in the political and the temporal order, the Church must be involved in doing whatever it can. Many clergymen, concerned about suffering humanity, have been and are involved. Many are not. I do not believe we can issue a blanket

indictment of the entire Church. I will always be critical of the Church, however, until it becomes, as one member of the Youth Council put it, what it is supposed to be—the most radical civil rights group in this country. Brotherhood is essential to religion. There is nothing which attacks the teachings of Christ, or the synagogue, more than the disease of racism. We must root out the cancer of racism completely. We must follow the most radical civil rights leader who has ever lived.

No civil rights leader in the history of this country was ever nailed to a cross because of this belief in social justice and the brotherhood of man. Christ was a revolutionary. The peace he preached was that of inner conviction and human dignity. He never meant that creative tension should be removed from this world. There is only one way that a man can find life after death and that is through involvement in this life—through a deep, sensitive concern about the sufferings of people, a concern which leads to action. To keep the faith is to keep trying to unite men in a society of brotherhood. This is the role of the Church.

Verdict at First Baptist

It was Sunday morning at First Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., but the atmosphere inside the crowded clapboard building was more reminiscent of a courtroom than of a house of worship. A black charwoman, Mrs. Winifred Bryant, and her 11-year-old daughter, Twila, stood facing row upon row of somber church folk. Trembling slightly, their eyes nervously shifting from face to face, the pair waited for the congregation to vote on their application to become the first black members of First Baptist.

Mrs. Bryant and Twila had undergone this ordeal once before (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 10). Early this summer, they had presented themselves to the all-white congregation for approval after First Baptist's liberal pastor, Dr. J. Herbert Gilmore Jr., and the church's membership committee had endorsed their application. Their credentials seemed acceptable enough: young Twila had been a regular pupil at First Baptist youth classes, while her mother had dutifully attended the adult Sunday school. But before the congregation could pass judgment, an elderly member had risen, stared coldly at Mrs. Bryant and objected to the vote being taken at that time—a procedural maneuver that succeeded in postponing the ticklish decision until last week.

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In the intervening months, segregationists in the congregation had shifted their fire to Dr. Gilmore himself, and last August had come within four votes (out of 478) of passing a motion to fire him and his entire staff. Meantime, all applicants for membership in First Baptist—including a minister's wife and child—were routinely turned down by those in the congregation who feared that the newcomers might favor integrating the church when the Bryant issue came to a vote. At the same time, leaders of the segregationist group urged the church's 900 inactive members, most of them old and retired couples, to make their opinion heard. One such member, who admitted to having attended First Baptist only twice in the past two years, charged that pastor Gilmore was subverting the "free-enterprise system" through his sermons. Others complained that he was not a Scriptural fundamentalist.

TEARS

But the central issue clearly was race, and by the time last Sunday arrived white Baptist congregations throughout the South were anxiously awaiting the Birmingham church's decision. Just before the vote, deacon Marvin Prude rose and announced to the overflowing church that "there is no valid or scriptural reason to be found" for opposing the blacks' application. Those in favor were asked to rise and be counted. Nearly 300 people, mostly young married couples, responded. Then those who were opposed rose—slowly, in many cases. The objectors carried the day.

Dr. Gilmore gazed down from the pulpit at the crestfallen woman and child. "I'm sorry," he said softly. Then he looked out at the hushed congregation. "I will not be a pastor of a racist church," he said, and announced his resignation, effective Nov. 1. Within seconds, the church's popular youth director, Betty Bock, stepped forward with her resignation as well. Several youngsters began to sob in the balcony, and one young girl was led in tears from the church.

Later, some 250 members sympathetic with Gilmore's position joined in a prayer service in another wing of the church; many talked about starting a new congregation. Whether or not that comes about, those members of First Baptist who voted to exclude Mrs. Bryant and Twila now face the bleak prospect of maintaining a church that stands to lose half of its active membership.

IV

The Church and Extremism

There are always elements that seek to have a particular point of view dominate. When these elements are characterized as extreme, they provide a potential for major upheaval. As with any institution, religion is not free from these groups. Unit IV looks at the ultra-liberal and radical conservative elements of the church. The threads of truth that may appear in any position should be noted, for rarely is a position completely without merit.

In the opening selection, the counter-culture is treated by Myron Bloy, and he lists four characteristics of the culture of the young. First, the sense of communality gives the young a global and humanitarian perspective not known before; second, their prophetic search for truth; third, their holistic sense of self; and, lastly, their obsession with what is real. He points out that today's educational institutions must come to grips with this counter-culture philosophy.

The second selection, *The Black Manifesto*, looks to churches and synagogues for reparations. James Forman points out that these groups have practiced racism in America and that such reparations are minimal for the wrongs done.

A quick reply came from Carl McIntire, head of the twentieth-century Reformation Hour, in which he demanded that liberal churches act on eleven different items, not the least of which was a call for one billion dollars to be used for the sole purpose of evangelizing the world.

Debates such as these will continue. It is important to look at these groups, for often the seed of revolution or reaction can be found here.

The Counter-Culture: It Just Won't Go Away

Our voracious media, feeding on any "new" phenomenon which can break the tedium of war and politics, have made a feast of the "counter-culture." That the counter-culture phenomenon continues to develop, quantitatively and qualitatively, despite media overkill, is a testimony to the accuracy of Roszak's original definition of it; he used the term to indicate that the alienated young were not merely pursuing a *via negativa*, the usual bohemianism which always remains locked in the shadow shapes of the traditional culture, but that they were using the distance and elbow-room which their alienation provided them to create a real cultural alternative. Although many commentators, including myself, have played the role of cultural anthropologist in trying to come up with a capsule definition of the evolving counter-culture, I expect that Roszak's is still the best; in an article in the *Nation* in 1968 he says:

A heroic generalization about this still embryonic culture is to say that what the young are up to is nothing less than a reorganization of the prevailing state of personal and social consciousness. From a culture that has a long-standing, entrenched commitment to an egocentric and intellectual mode of consciousness, the young are moving toward a sense of identity that is communal and nonintellectual. I think the

disjuncture is just that great — as great in its implications (though obviously not as yet in historical influence) as the disjuncture between Greco-Roman rationality and Christian mystery. Against the traditional Cartesian *cognito*, with its blunt, initial assertion of individuality and logicity, the counter-culture opposes the community and visionary aspiration. This really amounts to an assault on the reality of the ego as an isolable and purely cerebral unity of identity!

That this shift in consciousness continues to deepen its roots and focus its energies is difficult to prove, partly because the media celebrate the most trivial aspects of the counter-culture, creating a deceptive smoke screen, while its deeper accomplishments are out-of-sight to the rest of the world which encounters them mostly as invisible and irrational irritants to the established way of life. For example, millions of young Americans read hundreds of underground newspapers which are edited and written by thousands of their peers; literary styles and sensibilities as well as political, social and cultural ideas and actions, are developed for a whole American sub-culture in these newspapers, but how many teachers of English or political science or sociology or religion have really gotten into them? (Incidentally, Mitchell Goodman has edited a massive compendium of recent underground writings, *The Movement Toward A New America*, which makes some of their best materials easily available.) The counter-culture becomes visible to most of us only as a gumming-up of the established machinery.

In any event, I believe the counter-culture is alive and growing, and that we must take serious account of it in setting the assumptions and strategies for higher education in the years ahead. We must do this partly because daily, ad hoc response to its presence as irritant can only lead to ramshackle, self-contradictory institutions and to profoundly unhappy lives for those forced to inhabit such institutions. But that's only a defensive, prudential reason and, taken alone, could lead to nothing more than a culture/counter-culture stand-off. A more important reason is that, whatever its ultimate destiny, the counter-culture has already served as a foil against which moral, epistemological and spiritual flaws of the academic culture are starkly etched. If the counter-culture should die out or freak-out today, we could still be left with a reform agenda so heavy it would look like revolution.

Before outlining that agenda, however, three caveats are necessary. First, I do not see in the counter-culture a panacea for all mankind's ills; every culture, just as every man, is deeply flawed and has plenty of room for growing in grace. What I *do* discover among the counter-culture young is a remarkably accurate judgment on certain salient

aspects of the tradition and some promising experiments in developing new cultural forms. Second, no hard demarcation can be established between traditional and counter-cultures: no one "joins" the counter-culture. Instead, we see a profound shift of consciousness which, while centered in and spreading from the young, has become pervasive in our society, affecting almost everyone's self-identity to some degree. (Likewise, no freak is so hip as to be entirely free from the established culture—even from those aspects which he dislikes most.) Third, while many of the aspects of the counter-culture derive from the American black culture, I am here talking primarily about white middle- and upper-middle class phenomena. Some blacks angrily see this cultural "borrowing" as just another white rip-off from the black community; others also see in it the possibility of an eventual coalition of black and white radical movements. Although this issue demands serious analysis, it is beyond my own competence to provide it.

Now, let me briefly describe three fairly obvious dimensions of counter-culture consciousness and the educational challenges they pose, and then I will get a little more deeply into a fourth dimension which is at once less visible and more portentous than the others. The first dimension we will consider is that of *communality*. From Weber's *Protestant Ethic* to Riesman's *Lonely Crowd*, sensitive cultural analysts have been appalled by the loneliness, the profound spiritual isolation, of Western man. Our cultural norms (e.g., the self-made man) and social structures (e.g., the multi-versity) have incarnated and deepened that isolation. But today a new spirit—largely born by the counter-culture young—is challenging that tradition and bringing into nascent being more communal forms of human existence, and nowhere is this spirit more apparent than on college campuses where students are increasingly resistant to the self-centered, competitive careerism which characterizes academic culture. In fact, Kenneth Keniston sees this change among the young occurring on the level of identity itself—a level much deeper than that of mere ideals or ideologies. He sees a "universalization of identity" in which primary self-identity is communal rather than isolate—in which, for example, personal salvation is understood to be inextricably bound up with that of Vietnamese peasants and ghetto children rather than with career success. It is more like the tribalism of ancient Israel than the individualism of 17th century Calvinism.

This identity shift challenges academic institutions to make real and extend that communal spirit which every catalogue claims as asset and ideal. Most immediately, it means breaking down time-honored patterns of sexual segregation and making role distinctions—student, faculty,

administrator, staff, etc.—much less important for personal identity and community life than they are now. The heavy competitive bias represented in grades and tenure must be replaced by more cooperative strategies for intellectual work. Community decision-making, including decisions about finances, must be more widely shared. But the edges of the academic community itself must be decisively blurred to provide a more capacious experience of human community: the racial, social, economic and generational homogeneity of most campuses provides little experience in the dimensions of human community which must be achieved if mankind is to survive, much less prosper.

The counter-culture's assumption that real knowledge is gained only in personal commitment and action, the second dimension I wish briefly to discuss, insures that the aforesaid communal identity achieves moral bite through personal, social and political incarnations. According to an interesting analysis of Paul Tillich's in *Protestant Era* (Univ. of Chicago), Western thought is dominated by three epistemological traditions. Two of these are rooted in Greek dualism: one, tracing its history through late nominalism, identifies reason as the bearer of all power for creating the real; the other, tracing its history through medieval realism, identifies the real with the eternal ideas which lie behind the facade of history and must be reached through studied contemplation. The first is present today as the technocratic worldview and is a primary assumption of all professional education, but especially of engineering. The second is seen in various forms of idealism and is a characteristic assumption of liberal arts education. But both of these epistemologies, the one issuing in the development of muscular means and the other in achieving essentialistic insight, are abstracted from history. A third, mostly latent tradition, rooted in the prophets, assumes that the "really real" is encountered only through active participation in history, through engagement in the here and now; the price of learning here is submission of the self to the transforming power of history. This so-called "historical realism" is increasingly a strong epistemological assumption of the counter-culture.

This aspect of counter-culture consciousness is, of course, a serious challenge to a pedagogical strategy of what Erikson called a "four-year psycho-social moratorium" during which the student is presumed to store up technocratic skills or essentialistic insight for post-graduate application. Today, the necessary student/teacher consensus for such traditional learning is, in fact, rapidly deteriorating. If, as I believe, the counter-culture's recovery of this prophetic epistemology should be welcomed by higher education, how would it change its structures and

strategies? For example, what does higher education look like when disciplinary learning must contribute to the student's ongoing involvement in the critical missions of our time, such as the securing of economic and racial justice, of ecological balance, etc.? What will it mean to faculty when students are no longer passive sponges soaking up past wisdom, but actors in history needing help to bring past wisdom to bear on the present in order to create a better future?

A third dimension of the counter-culture, a concomitant of the prophetic joining of action and reflection, is the assumption that the body is as important as the head, feeling as critical as thinking, in the discovery of truth. Traditional dualism is no longer tolerable to the counter-culture: in one campus I know, encounter groups which bring the deepest feelings of its participants into the open flourish as a kind of underground movement in all the dormitories; Yoga, whose basic tenet is that you straighten out your head *through* tuning your body, has become normative doctrine and practice for many of the counter-culture young. But academic culture, and Western culture generally, has been possessed by a Manichean dualism which is intensely fearful of and therefore represses the body and emotion.

In his unpublished Dudleian lecture delivered at Harvan Divinity School in November 1970, sociologist Robert Bellah comments, "The deeper revolution is calling into question those profound differentiations and specializations upon which civilization rests, not only in the social division of labor but in the inner economy of the psyche. The boundaries that more advanced societies have fixed between the conscious and the unconscious, between the spirit and the body, and between an individual and all that is around him, are not eternal." Somehow we need now to find ways not only to include expertly-led encounter groups and similar emotional and kinesthetic learning activities in the curriculum, but, more, to create an academic culture in which emotional and corporeal intelligence are integral.

Now, although these three dimensions of counter-culture consciousness—its communality, prophetic epistemology, and holistic understanding of the self—are profound challenges and opportunities for higher education, a fourth dimension which underlies and informs the other three seems to me to be even more portentous. I refer to the growth among today's young of what Eliade in *The Sacred and Profane* calls the "ontological obsession" of primitive religious man. Eliade argues that "for the nonreligious men of the modern age, the cosmos has become opaque, inert, mute; it transmits no message, it holds no cipher," but for religious man, "life is not possible without an opening toward

the transcendent [because] the cosmos 'lives' and 'speaks.' " It is precisely this discovery that all existence is mysteriously infused with life which has precipitated an "ontological obsession" among the young.

We should be clear that this obsession is *not* for what are generally called "religious ideals." Neither primitive man nor these counter-culture young are the least interested in "ideals"; they are interested in aligning themselves with the power of the sacred in order to recover the *reality* of life for themselves. Again, as Eliade put it in *The Sacred and the Profane*:

... the sacred is pre-eminently the *real*, at once power, efficacy, the source of life and fecundity. Religious man's desire to live *in the sacred* is in fact equivalent to his desire to take up his abode in objective reality, not to let himself be paralyzed by the never-ceasing relativity of purely subjective experiences, to live in a real and effective world, and not in an illusion.

Ritualized myths and ceremonial action are, for the religious man, ways of experiencing (to use Eliade's elegant phrase) a "superabundance of reality" which will enable him to live a more fully real life afterwards. Furthermore, as initiatory rites always express, the change of ontological status also includes a growth of knowledge. In commenting on the phenomenology of initiation, Eliade says that

... if the novice dies to his infantile, profane, non-regenerate life to be reborn to a new, sanctified, existence, he is also reborn to a mode of being that makes learning, *knowledge*, possible. The initiate is not only one newborn or resuscitated; he is a man who *knows*, who has learned the mysteries, who has had revelations that are metaphysical in nature. ... In the religious history of humanity we constantly find this theme: the initiate, he who has experienced the mysteries, is *he who knows*.

The "ontological obsession" of the counter-culture is, of course, increasingly obvious even to those of us who live above ground: for example, every religion known to man is being openly practiced in Cambridge today—you can't walk through Harvard Square without encountering Hare Krishna troubadours or Process (a neo-Christian cult) proselytes—and the academic interest in religion continues to grow. But I want now simply to give three specific examples of the "ontological obsession" which show not merely the extent but also the character of the quest. The first is a passage from a *Harvard Crimson* article by a student who, in the midst of an encounter group session at the

Esalen Institute, instinctively plunges himself into an initiatory rite which is classical in character; he tells his story in the third person.

He walked slowly up the road to Route One, from where he could look down on all of Esalen. He felt strong. But towering above him, towering above Route One was a small, very steep mountain. "The mountain," the boy exclaimed to himself. And he knew that he had to climb it. He would see what lay on the other side. Whatever it was, it would not be darkness. . . . It was raining out, and there was a wind blowing, but that was just right, the boy knew it. "Here I stand in my boots (no socks), my blue jeans (no underwear), and my shirt. It is a ritual, a sacrifice. I will present myself to the storm. I will give myself to the mountain, and I hope that I may return." [I leave out now his description of the muddy, cold, difficult, even dangerous first part of his journey.] He climbed on. It was easier now, but near the top there was another stretch of very heavy undergrowth. "To the destructive element submit yourself," he thought, and plunged on, for he would see the other side. The undergrowth towered above him; he was in a jungle of it; he was actually crawling through it; and for a moment he had fantasies of rebirth — crawling out of the womb, through the vagina — which he laughed at, but he laughed uneasily.

And then, suddenly, he could see what lay beyond. There was a deep valley, with tall, very green trees all around, and rising in the distance was another range of mountains — and the side of one of the mountains was covered with snow. "Mother of Christ," the boy said out loud, and for a long time he stared at that snow — he could not have asked for more.

Everything is there—the threat of death, the rebirth, the epiphany in which the sacred is revealed, but there is also a kind of poignance in that painful self-consciousness, in the literary allusion. It is not so simple for modern man, no matter how willing, to encounter the sacred. (*Easy Rider*, a contemporary version of the archetypical *rite de passage*, ends not in new vision and life but in LSD nightmares and death.)

Another example of the "ontological obsession" of the young is the wedding ceremony of two counter-culture leaders who decided, after living together for seven years, that they "needed to make a public completion, a ritual of our choice to move on together."

In an unpublished manuscript by Michael Rossman the young husband describes how they asked "the people we love . . . young professionals, social workers, teachers, physicists, dopeddealers, film makers, painters, our ex-students and lovers, comrades from eleven years of politics and life in Berkeley, sociologists, parents, millionaires and mediamen, be-

loved freaks from the common street"—to join them for the occasion at a friend's house in the Sierra foothills. After several days, as the writer says,

Karen and I floated together, looked at each other and decided it was time . . . an hour and a half later we had the framework of a ceremony and some words to say together. . . . We gathered everyone around the pool, while the last lovers came down from the hill, and set the context. Men and women would go off from each other for a time, to perform two tasks. The men would choose a place for an altar and build it, and find a way to deliver me up for marriage. The women would deliver up Karen, and dress her and decorate the altar. All with as little talking as possible. . . . The altar was of piled block granite and dry manganite. They built it where the bones of the earth show through in twin granite domes. All the ranch was Indian home, but the domes were special: the top of one is pocked with grinding-pits for the acorns, and walls the Indians built still run across their faces, soft with ferns and lichens. On the dome they piled new rocks, and the women garlanded it with pine boughs, roses and a pattern of pinecones focused in a star. They hung the great Yin/Yang banner . . . over the central stone. . . .

I wondered what Karen was feeling, thought I knew, thought of how from the intimate core we've been learning together to honor our fantasies and accept their power, of how we are learning to dream and to live dreams out. . . .

The writer then describes how the two phalanxes, one of women, the other of men, dressed themselves and ceremoniously approached the altar:

Across the domes we heard each other approaching, the sounds swelled as our lines converged, merged, swirled into place around the altar. The chants grew together into a great OM that went on and on and on. And then there was silence, and Karen and I went into each other's eyes in a long moment of total surprise at being there before the stone. . . . "But there are no beginnings, no ends," we said together, facing the circle of our friends around the stone, "that's just the way we speak, helplessly, or we couldn't." "Karen went on alone, from an old poem to her,

When you open to one thing, you open
To all, which is why all lines,
Accepted, abandoned or longed for,
Lead through this time, these selves.

The writer then describes how he and his bride exchanged their vows ("I accept you as the father of our child"; "I accept you as the mother of our work and life"), how more poems full of mythic, circular time are read, and how the Ching is thrown and portentous things are learned. Finally he reflects on the events:

We wanted to be an excuse, an occasion to focus our energy within and beyond the unending war. . . . We brought the best people we knew together in a ripening time, and it happened. From that event lines of energy run through many people's lives. Long after friends were still telling us how they felt everyone actually married there at Mariposa.

Again, in this simple, beautiful event, we see the ontological obsession of the young—in the altar on the earth's bones, in the mythic time, in the "lines of energy" which flow from the sacred event and infuse all the participants with their power.

Finally, and briefly, let me exhibit one of the numerous theologians of the counter-culture. The *Windcatcher*, a columnist in an excellent underground newspaper called *Good Times*, wrote a series of articles in which he reflected on how "the community seeks to liberate the religious experience." First of all, echoing primitive man and the previous two contemporary examples, *Windcatcher* insists that religion is concerned with bringing man into touch with the real, with breaking through abstraction and overcoming blindness in order to encounter reality. He says,

There's nothing otherworldly about religion. . . . All religious knowledge is experiential knowledge. . . . This knowledge is never abstract, has as much to do with theologies as shadows have to do with objects casting them. . . . Religion overcomes ignorance by getting us to see (experience) what we already see yet don't see, getting us to be what we already are, yet are not as long as we haven't learned we are.

Religion, according to the *Windcatcher*, is the way man satisfies his ontological obsession. What the religious man sees is that "the sacredness (of any object) lies within the recognition that all things are a part of each other, balanced in a harmony. . . ." In these three examples we must recognize, I believe, the justice of Eliade's dictum that "Whatever the historical context in which he is placed, *homo religiosus* always believes that there is an absolute reality, *the sacred*, which transcends this world but manifests itself in this world, thereby sanctifying it and making it real."

But why, after the recent inauguration of the "end of ideology" and "the secular city," has this ontological obsession, this quest for the sacred grown up so sturdily among the young? Although it is presumptuous to render any fulsome judgment while we are still in mid-story, two of the most obvious causes, one positive and the other negative, can be quickly identified. First, the near ubiquity among the young of drugs which break through the traditional culture's linear time and geometric space has opened up existence as mystery again. The perception of life as mystery is, in fact, no longer dependent on drugs themselves because the culture which they inspired has incarnated and now sustains that vision for all the counter-culture young. Consider, for example, the recent works of Bob Dylan, George Harrison, Arlo Guthrie, and John Lennon and, of course, the rock operas *Tommy* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*. Consider also the rhetoric of counter-culture young in which a far more mysterious cosmos is consistently assumed than is true for the secular establishment: for example "vibrations" or "vibes" emanate from persons, places, and situations which betray their demonic or sacred character. Furthermore—and this is the second, the negative cause—the failure in several major respects of the progressive, rationalistic culture to deliver on its claim to solve whatever ails man has given additional support to the possibility of seeing life as a mystery. The successful resistance of peasants to the organized terror of our military-industrial complex and of nature to our rapacious digging and delving have been prophetic voices from beyond, from a cosmos we had assumed was nothing but a bland backdrop for our struttings.

Whatever its causes, then, what challenges does this quest for the sacred offer to higher education? Some, I know, will answer that although this ontological obsession may have some meaning for religious institutions, it can certainly have no significance for colleges and universities whose proper business is, after all, education, not religious therapy. Such an answer is shortsighted on two counts.

First, since the ontological quest of the young really *is* an obsession, students cannot seriously attend to the two normative tasks of higher education—the achievement of moral and esthetic discrimination and the development of professional and technical skills—until they begin to make some real progress in satisfying this primary quest. Any relatively alert teacher today has seen the negative symptoms of that preoccupation in the decline of passion for those normative tasks, in the increasing despair about the validity of *any* vocational commitment. When established spiritual assumptions and their cultural constructs collapse, and when the flat surface of existence opens up to unimagined depths, then the self,

frightened by the threat of chaos but, nevertheless, exulting in the discovery of an unexplored spiritual cosmos, must give absolute priority to establishing a secure spiritual identity. Until the young sense *some* significant progress on that task, the whole educational enterprise will become increasingly stale and aimless for both teachers and students. Thus, even a strict educational constructionist who rightly understands his self-interest will want to help the counter-culture young get a leg up on their ontological quest.

Next, on a deeper level, the refusal to pay pedagogical attention to this quest is shortsighted because it represents an academic ethnocentrism, an illiberal attitude towards the discovery of truth. If, as Bellah says, "The boundaries that more advanced societies have fixed between the spirit and the body, and believer and individual and all that is around him, are not eternal," then it would behoove educational institutions to support serious inquiries into the nature of reality even when they cross those boundaries. Who can say where the truth will be found? Surely we are not warranted to stop at certain barriers which have been created by the epistemological dogmas of our most recently inherited chunk of cultural history!

For an educational institution to give real support to the ontological quest of the young will, of course, involve it in a good deal more than adding courses in yoga or starting encounter groups. What is involved is a fundamental change in academic culture, in the ethos itself of our colleges and universities. Consider, for instance, the earnestly geometric space, in buildings and grounds, which characterize our campuses; this space constitutes a gigantic cultural metaphor which shapes the attitudes of all who live within it. Can we not have buildings which incarnate mystery and surprise, rather than varieties of predictable boxes, or grounds with dramatic landscaping—tunnels, nooks, hidden places—rather than windswept plains?

Consider, too, the linearity of time on the campus; credit hours, hourly gongs, closing and opening times, etc. give the quality of a superficial treadmill. I recall the following words of Benjamin Franklin which are engraved on the gates of a midwestern college: "DOST THOU LOVE LIFE? THEN DO NOT SQUANDER TIME FOR THAT IS THE STUFF LIFE IS MADE OF." Is it possible to blur some of the rigidity of this pattern? More, is it possible to recover some sense of mythic time by encouraging the growth of rituals and ceremonials in campus life? The fact that the old rituals and ceremonials—like matriculation and graduation—have lost their power for counter-culture young should not lead us to the erroneous conclusion that such matters are of no interest to them. On the contrary, as

I have indicated above, the ontological obsession necessarily involves the struggle of imagination to discover the rites and ceremonies which make this sacred, the power of the real, present. Demonstrations, hitchhiking cross-country, pot parties include, whatever their ostensible purpose, attempts to encounter the "really real" through rite and ceremony.

While, in conclusion, these four characteristics of the growing consciousness and culture of the young—*i.e.*, their communality, prophetic epistemology, holistic sense of self, and ontological obsession—are not exhaustive and while the implication of the counter-culture for higher education is only suggested, perhaps the analysis is full enough to indicate the *level* on which reform is needed. Many educators are responding to the overt perturbations of students with methodological and even moral reform, but they do so within the framework and on the assumptions of the traditional academic culture. That is the liberal game. What the above analysis suggests is that the counter-culture challenge goes to the very roots of that normative culture so that any response which is pedagogically serious must be made on that level, too. The question for education, then, is the following: Will we be able to perceive the depth of the counter-culture challenge and, seeing it, muster the courage and imagination necessary to respond to it or are we so ethnocentrically bound to the academic culture that neither our perceptions nor will are free?

The Black Manifesto

:

To the white Christian Churches and the Synagogues in the United States of America and to All Other Racist Institutions:

INTRODUCTION: TOTAL CONTROL AS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE

Brothers and Sisters:

We have come from all over the country burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradation. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro, and we must separate ourselves from these Negroes who go around the country promoting all types of schemes for black capitalism.

This document was presented by James Forman to the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan, and adopted on April 26, 1969.

Ironically, some of the most militant Black Nationalists, as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of black capitalism. They are pimps; black power pimps and fraudulent leaders, and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only his ultimate destruction and death but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world. For it is the power of the United States Government, this racist, imperialist government, that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa. At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines as laid out by the western imperialist governments. Africans themselves succumbed to and are victims of the power of the United States. For instance, during the summer of 1967, as the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and I traveled extensively in Tanzania and Zambia. We talked to high, very high, government officials. We told them there were many black people in the United States who were willing to come and work in Africa. All these government officials, who were part of the leadership in their respective governments, said they wanted us to send as many skilled people as we could contact. But this program never came into fruition, and we do not know the exact reasons, for I assure you that we talked and were committed to making this a successful program. It is our guess that the United States put the squeeze on these countries for such a program directed by SNCC would have been too dangerous to the international prestige of the United States. It is also possible that some of the wild statements by some black leader frightened the Africans.

In Africa today there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department. But the respect for us as a people continues to mount, and the day will come when we can return to our homeland as brothers and sisters. But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the United States, which is the most barbaric

country in the world, and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short, and we do not have much time and it is time we stop mincing words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

We have heard the rhetoric, but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the vanguard force. We shall liberate all the people in the United States, and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements. Any class analysis of the United States shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution. All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the vanguard, but we are saying that not only are we the vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control, and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the United States. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese, for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our soul and all the compassion we can mount go out to our brothers in Africa, Santa Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the United States which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the United States, for it is an imperial power sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it. General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of the black people in South Africa and the exploitation of black people in the United States. If they understand it, they certainly do not put it into practice, which is the actual test. We as black people must be concerned with the total conditions of all black people in the world.

But while we talk of revolution, which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time has ceased when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top. This is especially true of the welfare agencies in this country, but it is not enough to say that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people, such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves, and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists. It is in the financial interest of the United States to make us capitalist, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the mainstream of American life. Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We HAVE an ideology. Our fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism, and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State, and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world. And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there is no way for that nation to be viable if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists. Then too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black vanguard, and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership, for that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

Racism in the United States is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few

thousand dollars for this cooperative, or a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say . . . think in terms of total control of the United States. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short, and all around the world the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the United States. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country, and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long range planning, but whether it happens in a thousand years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How then is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people, Christians, who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states. We must begin seizing power wherever we are, and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction which we want it to go. We are not saying that the conference was planned badly. The staff of the conference has worked hard and has done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together, and we must include them in the new membership which must surface from this point on. The conference is now the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric, and there are demands that we are going to make and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them.

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

Our seizure of power at this conference is based on a program, and our program is contained in the following Manifesto:

BLACK MANIFESTO

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan, for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have

been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrialized country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding \$500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. This total comes to fifteen dollars per nigger. This is a low estimate, for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 black people in this country. Fifteen dollars a nigger is not a large sum of money, and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for \$500,000,000 is not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparations due us as people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced a psychological effect upon us that we are beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society.

We are demanding \$500,000,000 to be spent in the following way:

(1) We call for the establishment of a southern land bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because of racist pressure, and for people who want to establish cooperative farms but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from their homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this southern land bank. We call for \$200,000,000 to implement this program.

(2) We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with ten million dollars each. These publishing houses are to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperative investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white-dominated and controlled printing field.

(3) We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual networks to be located in Detroit,

Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. These TV networks will provide an alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by ten million dollars each.

(4) We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems of black people. This center must be funded with no less than thirty million dollars.

(5) We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making and repair, radio building and repair and all other skills needed in communication. This training center shall be funded with no less than ten million dollars.

(6) We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization, and we intend to work with them. We call for ten million dollars to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system of this country.

(7) We call for \$20,000,000 to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.

(8) We call for the establishment of the International Black Appeal (IBA). This International Black Appeal will be funded with no less than \$20,000,000. The IBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and in Africa, our Motherland. The International Black Appeal is one of the most important demands that we are making, for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The IBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

- (a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference.
- (b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African liberation movements.
- (c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation League which will protect our African image.

(9) We call for the establishment of a black university to be founded with \$130,000,000, to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a southern university.

(10) We demand that IFCO allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

In order to win our demands, we are aware that we will have to have massive support, therefore:

(1) We call upon all black people throughout the United States to consider themselves as members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement these demands.

(2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country to contact black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, teachers' organizations, church leaders and organizations, explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the United States. Pressure by whatever means necessary should be applied to the white power structure. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demanding this modest reparation of fifteen dollars per black man.

(3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension, and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we are prepared for protracted and long-range struggle.

(4) We call for the total disruption of selected church-sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the United States and the world. Black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church-sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

(5) We call upon all delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstrations at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties, but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon, or passing it out to church members. The principle of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

(6) On May 4, 1969, or a date thereafter, depending upon local conditions, we call upon black people to commence the disruption of the racist churches and synagogues throughout the United States.

(7) We call upon IFCO to serve as a central staff to coordinate the mandate of the conference and to reproduce and distribute en masse literature, leaflets, news items, press releases and other material.

(8) We call upon all delegates to find within the white community those forces which will work under the leadership of blacks to implement these demands by whatever means necessary. By taking such actions, white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us as black people to make these demands.

(9) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, tolerance, understanding and nonviolence as they have been encouraged, advised and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States. The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to a test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, determined to have our dignity.

(10) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help them rid themselves of racism, capitalism and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the steering committee to create a black Anti-Defamation League to be founded by money raised from the International Black Appeal.

(11) We fully recognize that revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic and military components, and therefore we call upon all our brothers and sisters who have acquired training and expertise in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organization, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

(12) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues, and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by

our mere stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and goodwill, then we declare war, and we are prepared to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, proposing the election of the following steering committee:

Lucius Walker	Mark Comfort
Renny Freeman	Earl Allen
Luke Tripp	Robert Browne
Howard Fuller	Vincent Harding
James Forman	Mike Hamlin
John Watson	Len Holt
Dan Aldridge	Peter Bernard
John Williams	Michael Wright
Ken Cockrel	Muhammed Kenyatta
Chuck Wooten	Mel Jackson
Fannie Lou Hamer	Howard Moore
Julian Bond	Harold Homes

Brothers and sisters, we are no longer shuffling our feet and scratching our heads. We are tall, black and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, to the government of this country and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left that you can do to further degrade black people and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting the wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live, and to live means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country, and they are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but the day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small demands. They represent fifteen dollars per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand this from the church power structure. We must demand more from the United States Government.

But to win our demands from the church, which is linked up with the United States Government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

(This list was later revised, more Church representatives were added—eds.)

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force to get our demands. We are not saying that this is the road we want to take. It is not, but let us be very clear that we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and forced to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian Church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this Manifesto we must prepare for a long-range educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian church with its hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major objective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the church but also by private business and the United States government. We see this focus on the Christian church as an effort around which all black people can unite.

Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized, they can only be increased, and the church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking. Our slogans are:

All Roads Must Lead to Revolution
Unite with Whomever You Can Unite
Neutralize Wherever Possible
Fight Our Enemies Relentlessly
Victory to the People
Life and Good Health to Mankind
Resistance to Domination by the White Christian Churches
and the Jewish Synagogues
Revolutionary Black Power
We Shall Win Without a Doubt

Christian Manifesto

INTRODUCTION —

TOTAL SUBMISSION TO THE WORD OF GOD,
WHICH IS THE SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD AND
NEW TESTAMENTS, IS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO
ALL THE PROBLEMS FACING MANKIND.

Brothers and Sisters:

→ The Prophet Amos said it is an “evil time,” and Christians who stand by the Bible throughout the entire world are burning with righteous indignation. They are suffering persecution and affliction at the hands of apostates, modernists, and unbelievers who call themselves Christians and who by their political maneuverings have captured major denominations and are using these resources, which run into the multiplied billions of dollars, not for the advancement of the historic Christian faith and the carrying out of the Great Commission of Jesus Christ, but for the purpose of building a one-world church, a superworld-state.

There can be no separation of the problems — economic, political, cultural — from the commands of God as set forth in the Ten Com-

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mandments given to Moses on Mount Sinai as he led the Children of Israel from Egyptian bondage.

There are still people, millions of them, who are clinging to the rhetoric of Christianity, including its hymnology and poetry, who no longer believe the Scriptures.


We must separate ourselves from any who call themselves Christian leaders who go around the country promoting socialism, Communism, calling for the recognition of Red China, the establishment of normal relations with Communist Cuba, and the immediate unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam.

Ironically, some of the most militant apostates, who call themselves ecumenical, are pretending to be expositors of the Bible and believers in freedom. Jesus Christ described such as "wolves" "in sheep's clothing." The Bible calls them "blind guides," "hypocrites," of whom Jesus said they could not "escape the damnation of hell" (Matt. 23).

In the United States the charges of "racist," "imperialist government" are the shibboleths used to destroy a responsible capitalism and the American way of life.

We speak for Bible-believing Christians. The return of the Jews to Palestine represents a fulfillment of prophecies in anticipation of the return of Jesus Christ bodily to this earth to stand on the Mount of Olives. We are concerned about all the propaganda that turns blacks against whites, poor against rich, and in the name of the Gospel promotes the class struggle. Duped into believing that peaceful coexistence as heard from Moscow is the road to peace, church leaders are participating in ecumenical gatherings where the Communists have their spokesmen honored as Christian leaders.

We as Bible-believing Christians must be concerned about the salvation of the lost in every part of the world and must repudiate all racial strife, violence, and revolution. We repudiate the Black Manifesto, which calls for a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed in the hands of the State for the so-called welfare of all people. There are those who have been bewitched by the cry of racism, those who are opposed to the benevolence of industry, those who are repudiating law and order and calling for guerrilla warfare in the streets. The ideology that they profess must be seen to be born of atheism, Marxism, socialism, Communism. The exploitation of the church for revolution, the infiltration of religion for the destruction of religion, and the use of such terms as "the kingdom of God" and "making all things new" to represent such destructive forces must be rejected by all who have respect for decency and God. Revolution must be met by reformation.



The spiritual, moral, and political conditions can be corrected only by a confession of sin, repentance toward God, and faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ.

The agelong conflict between God and Satan, Christ and Antichrist, righteousness and wickedness, freedom and tyranny summons all Christians to battle the forces of darkness and slavery. We maintain that we have the Reformation right to do this, and as the church was reformed and the blessings of liberty followed the Sixteenth Century Reformation, a Twentieth Century Reformation is the imperative of the present hour. Wherever the Black Manifesto is presented in churches, assemblies, office buildings, and conference headquarters, this Christian Manifesto must also be presented. The Black Manifesto is the voice of hell, not the fruit of the Spirit. It is the evidence of Communist participation in the internal life of the churches in the United States of America. It is the fruit of the social gospel. It will destroy the United States.

ICC
The Christian people affiliated with the International Council of Christian Churches in the United States of America and throughout the world are fully aware of the unbelief and apostasy that has gained control of the major denominations in the United States, whose voice is that of the National Council of Churches, and, for so many now, of James Forman, heralded as a modern-day prophet. Those who have held the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith have been persecuted, exploited, deposed, driven from their properties, and all the resources rightfully theirs taken from them to be used in the development of the ecumenical church. The recognition of the validity of reparations by the churches in the National Council of Churches and by the World Council of Churches leads us to present the demands for reparations to those who have suffered at the hands of the liberals during the twentieth century. These reparations are due not only in the United States but in Canada, Great Britain, Europe, Scandinavia, India, Pakistan, Korea, and other lands wherever the ecumenical missions have taken possession of properties and are using them against the faithful church leaders who would preserve the Christian faith.

We, therefore, demand of the churches which have accepted and tolerate in their fellowship inclusivism, the new morality, existentialism, and the "God is dead" theologians, that they immediately make full restitution and reparation, returning to the Bible-believing people throughout the world that which is spiritually, morally, and historically theirs. To take properties and monies and institutions established by Bible-believing people and to use them to build socialism, destroy capitalism, and banish the true Christian faith constitutes a crime against the law of God upon which Heaven itself shall pronounce the judgment.

Ruin, crime, murder, rape, the spirit of lawlessness and riot are the direct result of the failure of modern churches. Their abandonment of the Gospel that saves souls and regenerates by the Holy Ghost, and their deliberate appeal to Statism constitutes an offense against every law-abiding Christian and Jew. The reparations now demanded are not figurative or ethereal. They represent the actual shift of rightful ownership. The recent Supreme Court decision deciding that, because of separation of Church and State, the courts must leave in the hands of the churches such matters as fidelity to doctrine, faith, discipline, and the properties involved, has given to the liberal majorities a power to crush fundamental minorities who morally are entitled to funds given to support the things which they believe and which the apostates would destroy. The court decision makes imperative this Christian Manifesto and its appeal to justice and conscience.

In the United States, all of the historic Christian shrines that have upon them quotations from the King James Version of the Bible; all of the historic churches that go back to the founding fathers, whose cemeteries are filled with the remains of those who died believing in a bodily resurrection, which is the faith of the fathers and the faith of the churches of the Reformation today; all of the buildings, institutions, endowments, colleges, universities, and hospitals that were established before the rise of liberalism and the unbelief of the Fosdicks, the Buttricks, the Oxnam, the Bennetts, the Van Dusens, the Pikes, the Altizers, the Barths, the Coffins, and others — all rightfully belong to the Bible believers, the successors to those who believed the Bible in their day. The use of Christian resources and heritage to destroy Christianity involves an immorality that is as great as any committed in church history.

The International Council of Christian Churches, raised up of God, believing the Bible to be His infallible and holy Word, rejecting the ecumenical apostasy, repudiating the new creeds including the Confession of 1967, now demands that all of these resources be subject to the demands of reparation and that such be turned over to the fundamental church bodies comprising this Council and others have been raised up as a result of unbelief. A colossal crime has been committed by those forces that have usurped the authority of Scripture and have taken the resources of Christianity to build a Babylon church.

In view, therefore, of the fact that the principle of reparations is now being accepted as valid in ecumenical circles, we hereby demand of the churches in the United States affiliated with the National Council of Churches the sum of three billion dollars. This is a low estimate in view of all that has been acquired from the hands of those who have believed the faith once delivered unto the saints. This figure is almost infinitesimal

when compared to the budgets of the nations and the cost of wars of the nations. We are not unaware of the exploitation of our Christian brethren of all colors — black, brown, red, yellow, white — who have been victimized by vain, empty words.

Stimulating all of this exploitation has been a rejection of the Gospel, a repudiation of the Christ of the Bible, a use of that which was rightfully His to promote the spirit of Antichrist. We are no longer afraid to demand our rights under God. The affirmations of love, tolerance, brotherhood, humanity, made by the liberals must now be tested alongside of the demands of the Black Manifesto for money. We are demanding that the money be spent in the following ways:

1. We call for one billion dollars to be used for the sole purpose of evangelizing the nations with the message of the blood of Christ and 500 million dollars for the erection of hospitals in which the Gospel of Christ be presented with the healing knowledge of modern science; these funds to be contributed through the Commission on Evangelism of the International Council of Christian Churches to the 140 denominations who are presently preaching this message. The use of this money for the spiritual blessing of mankind will immediately alter the economic, the social, and the political needs of the world and will bring the blessings that God has promised, "For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things" (Matt. 6:32) — food, raiment. The church must attend to its primary task of obeying the Great Commission (Matt. 28:18-20).

2. We call for the establishment of 18 major publishing and printing centers — in the United States, Brazil, Argentina, London, Amsterdam, Beirut, Lagos, Nairobi, Johannesburg, Lahore, Madras, Singapore, Auckland, Adelaide, Hong Kong, Taipei, Seoul, Tokyo. These centers will provide the literature for the Reformation and the information to deliver the nations from the Communist deceptions and totalitarian powers. For this 30 million dollars is asked.

3. We call for the establishment of theological seminaries and Christian institutions of higher learning that will defend the Christian faith and will "promote on every continent . . . an educational system for all ages which shall be free from the blight of rationalism and in which the Bible shall be basic, to the end that education may again become the handmaid of the Church rather than a foe to the whole Christian conception of God and the world." For this 200 million dollars is allocated, plus an additional 50 million dollars for miscellaneous.

4. We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual networks to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C. These TV networks will offset the networks established by the Black Manifesto and will be an alternative to their false racist propaganda. Total funds for the financing to be 250 million dollars, including purchase and operation.

5. We call for research skills centers that will provide research on the problems of all people, of all colors and of all races, with a view to assisting them to help themselves, including black capitalism, and not to be dependent upon the powers of government for their existence. This center must be funded with no less than 50 million dollars.

6. We call for the establishment of training centers for the development of Christian skills and competence in photography, television, repairs, radio, building. This training center shall be funded with no less than 10 million dollars, and will counter the Black Manifesto.

7. We call for the establishment of six powerful international short wave transmitters which will offset similar radio ministries presently operating in Africa, the Philippines, and Communist countries. These will disseminate the Gospel behind the Iron Curtain and provide information presently being withheld to the people of the world, and will "advocate steadfastly the Christian mode of life in society at large in the hope that we may be able to do something to retard the progress of atheistic and pagan ideologies under any name, of loose morality and of godlessness, which have become such alarming threats to the Christian method of life in our times" (Constitution of ICCC, Art. VII, 11). For this we request 100 million dollars.

8. We call for the support of International Christian Relief to be funded by no less than 500 million dollars and to bring in the name of Jesus Christ the nurture of love and human kindness.

9. We call for funds in the amount of ten million dollars to support the National and Regional Councils of Churches in every nation and region where possible for the purpose of maintaining the liberties and the rights of Bible-believing Christians. This includes the establishment of the world headquarters of the International Council of Christian Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, to represent the glories of the faith of those who proclaimed, "After darkness light." Reparations must include the transfer of Calvin's historic church to the Twentieth Century Reformers that it may no longer be desecrated by ecumenical unbelief and used as a mock-

ery to Calvin and Luther, Knox and Zwingli, and those others whose statues are on the Reformation Monument of that city.

10. We call for 300 million dollars to be used especially for and by the Negroes, and ask that this fund be provided only to fundamental Negro churches separated from the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches. The fund is to be used to inform all the Negroes who have been misled by false accusations of racism and the nature of Christian brotherhood and to persuade the Negroes in the United States and the world that their first need is Jesus Christ as presented in His Gospel and that the Bible is the Book of their freedom. The hope of the world is not the Democratic Party and politically inspired material aid programs, which, when exhausted, will leave a vacuum of despair and rebellion. In Jesus Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither black nor white, but all are one and this unity will bring respect for our God and His laws.

11. We include in these demands for reparations the transfer of keys and titles of institutions, colleges, and seminaries from the hands of the modernists who have occupied them on the basis of the "winner take all" philosophy of the modernists to the control of Bible-believing churches which have come into existence in the last 75 years to continue the true witness of the founders.

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., was established by Presbyterians, who believed the Westminster Confession of Faith. Its leadership has now produced the Confession of 1967. This institution must be turned over to the Bible Presbyterians.

Drew University, Methodist, located in Madison, New Jersey, represents the citadel of Methodist unbelief. It should be turned *in toto* into the hands of former Methodist Protestants, the Bible Protestants.

Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, New York, with its library and buildings, properly belongs to the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches and should be delivered to them.

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, should be turned over to the Congregational Methodists.

Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., the product of Methodism in the South, which preached the Gospel of John Wesley, should have all of its properties and facilities turned over to the Southern Methodists.

In order to win these demands we are aware that we must have the massive support of all Christians in all churches and in all lands.

(1) We call therefore upon all Bible-believing people throughout the United States and throughout the world to unite in prayer, fellowship, and co-operation to the end that the enemies of Christ and the forces of tyranny may meet their challenge by the Word of God.

(2) We call upon all concerned with the apostasy across the country to demand that prayer and Bible reading be returned to the public schools of the United States and that the name of God be acknowledged and honored in our national life and that righteousness become the policy of our Government in dealing with all governments.

(3) We call for a complete exposure and repudiation of Communism in all fields of their sinister work, the winning of the war in Vietnam, the liberation of Cuba, and the exposure and defeat of Communism in the Western Hemisphere.

(4) We call for a complete reappraisal of education, its materialistic, atheistic foundation, and the return of education to the people. All areas of national life where socialism is moving in with its destruction of initiative, personality, thrift, and responsibility must be challenged and rejected by Christian America.

(5) We call for the maintenance of law and order; respect for the police; free, respectful, open debate; and the end to violence as a weapon of "democratic" procedure.

(6) We call upon all clergy associated with the International Council of Christian Churches to challenge the Black Manifesto wherever it is presented and to request immediately the presentation of this Christian Manifesto, and that wherever the Black Manifesto is read the Christian Manifesto shall also be read.

(7) We call for a complete repudiation of the National Council of Churches, a separation from it, and the support of churches that are not ashamed of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and of the persecutions that have come upon those who have been defrocked and driven from their churches because of loyalty to Jesus Christ.

(8) We call for Christians throughout the world to remember each other in prayer and to support one another in understanding, to believe the words of the prophets, and to confront the enemies of Christ with confidence — "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you" (Jas. 4:7). We are proud of our American heritage, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the United States, the Statue of Liberty, the American Flag, and we call upon all to resist the present revolutionary forces as they manifest themselves in the churches, the schools, the political parties, and any as-

pect of national life, and to resist the forces that are using racism, hate, the class struggle, war, riot, and armed rebellion.

(9) We call for a fearless leadership that puts its faith and trust in Jesus Christ. We praise and commend the brethren of Pakistan, where 85 percent of the Christians in the last one and one-half years have renounced the ecumenical movement and have preserved Christianity.

(10) We call upon all Bible-believing churches to dedicate themselves to the purposes of this Christian Manifesto with the faith that God is able in these last days to enable such a witness to be given before the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and His deliverance of the Church, His body and Bride, from the power of death.

(11) We call upon Christians to act in the spirit of the prophets and the apostles, counting their lives not dear to themselves and manifesting the spirit of the hymn of the Reformation, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God":

A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing;
Our helper He, amid the flood
Of mortal ills prevailing.
For still our ancient foe,
Doth seek to work us woe;
His craft and pow'r are great,
And, armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.

Did we in our own strength confide,
Our striving would be losing;
Were not the right Man on our side,
The Man of God's own choosing.
Dost ask who that may be?
Christ Jesus, it is He;
Lord Sabaoth His name,
From age to age the same,
And He must win the battle.


And tho' this world, with devils filled,
Should threaten to undo us;
We will not fear, for God hath willed
His truth to triumph through us.
The prince of darkness grim —
We tremble not for him;
His rage we can endure,

For lo! his doom is sure,
One little word shall fell him.
That word, above all earthly pow'rs —
No thanks to them — abideth:
The Spirit and the gifts are ours
Thro' Him who with us sideth.
Let goods and kindred go,
This mortal life also;
The body they may kill:
God's truth abideth still,
His kingdom is forever.

Christians have the Hope of the world who is Jesus Christ. They possess the Gospel which is, "Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3, 4); and which testifies: "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith, which we preach; that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For the scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed. For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Rom. 10:8-13).

We call for salvation and reformation, not revolution and slavery.

The Christian Manifesto challenges the Black Manifesto and it calls upon all who have been redeemed to stand up, be counted, endure afflictions, put on "the whole armour of God . . . and having done all, to stand."



The Church and Evangelism

The need to bring the message of salvation seems as old as Christianity itself. The inherent tie between fundamentalism and evangelism is a new phenomena, however. It took place during the 1960s, and Billy Graham is probably the best known in the modern version of the movement. The movement sees its task as teaching the gospel so that some may escape on judgment day. The literal interpretation of the bible is stressed. Modern day evangelism is undergoing a strong rebirth of interest as witnessed by the resurgence of fundamental movements on college campuses.

The opening selection by Ernest Sandeen traces fundamentalism in American life. Regarding fundamentalism as an authentic conservative movement, it has functioned and grown in the changing society. Stressing the role of guardian of the central truths of Christianity, the basic appeal of fundamentalism seems to come from its unchanging position in a changing world. Once given little chance of survival in a secular-scientific world, it now can be classified as not only alive, but in fact a very well and thriving movement.

Evangelism does have many obstacles to overcome, however, as pointed out by Harold Kuhn. He regards nationalism, totalitarianism, materialism, and intellectualism as major positions standing in the path of the Christian message. As Kuhn states, no successful attempt to bring the message of Christ the Redeemer will occur without carefully considering a plan to deal with these major obstacles.

The movement of evangelism is another element of the total revolution in religion. It seems devoid of complicated theology but instead stresses only the basics. As a line from the song "Me and Jesus Got Our Own Thing Going" states, "We don't need anybody to tell us what it's all about."

Fundamentalism and American Identity

Fundamentalism, a movement most commonly described as last-ditch reaction and anachronistic, rural anti-intellectualism, has refused to die. Instead of disappearing as predicted, one finds Fundamentalist leader Billy Graham named in public opinion polls as one of the most admired men in the United States and chosen as spiritual advisor and friend by President Richard Nixon. Of course, neither Mr. Nixon's faith nor Dr. Graham's popularity can be expected to persuade theologians to accept the inerrancy of the Scriptures, or historians to applaud William Jennings Bryan's attacks upon evolution. This is the enigma of contemporary Fundamentalism; although it is described as a lost cause and a hopeless crusade in every scholarly analysis, it continues to flourish in defiance of the experts. Within this paradox lies a world of significance for the understanding of the Fundamentalist as Christian and American, and for the understanding of American identity in the 1960's.

ORIGIN AND BASIC DOCTRINES OF FUNDAMENTALISM

Most discussions of Fundamentalism never escape from the semantic muddle which was created during the 1920's by the description of every

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foe of evolution as a Fundamentalist. The absurdity of arguing that everyone who supported prohibition was a Fundamentalist, or that everyone who wished to impeach Earl Warren was a Fundamentalist, is obvious to all. But the word "Fundamentalism" was invented just at the opening of the antievolution controversy, creating the mistaken impression that Fundamentalism was simply the name of a party opposing modernism in its many manifestations, a party created purely out of reaction to contemporary issues. In a study published elsewhere, I have argued another thesis. Fundamentalism has existed as a religious movement, possessing structure and identity, from about 1875 up to the present day.¹ The movement was rooted in concern with two doctrines — the personal, imminent return of Christ (millenarianism), and the verbal, inerrant inspiration of the Bible (literalism). These two concerns have remained definitive for Fundamentalists.

Most nineteenth-century American Protestants were millennialists. They believed that the Bible had foretold a thousand-year period of earthly blessedness. They expected that the beginning of the millennium was imminent and that its final years would be climaxed by the appearance of Christ as king. They were convinced that the course of history was progressive and that the forces now working toward the world's betterment — pre-eminently the Christian Gospel — would soon succeed in creating this near-perfect society. However, during the last quarter of the century, many responsible and respectable clergymen found themselves drawn toward a more apocalyptic doctrine of Christ's second advent. Through periodicals, books, and regular conferences, this millenarian message was spread: the world is rushing toward judgment, not perfection; man's wickedness is beyond remedy; man's government, philosophy, art, and science are only serving to amplify his degeneracy. To the sinner who repented, there remained an escape, however, for Christ would return to this world to rescue his Church and snatch it from the destruction which the world would soon suffer. Only after Christ's coming would the millennium be inaugurated, and thus the millenarian position was sometimes called premillennialism. This variant view proved appealing to those whose faith in progress was being undermined by labor unrest, threats of socialism and anarchism, the flood tide of predominantly Catholic immigrants, and a series of financial panics. But it should be emphasized that the leaders of the millenarian movement at this time were far from being cranks or fanatics. Drawn primarily from the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, they were respected by those who did not agree with them, and often served in positions of responsibility. The Reverend Adoniram J. Gordon, at the time of his death in

1895, was a leader in Boston's religious life and was certainly one of the most prominent Baptists in New England. The Reverend James Hall Brookes held a similar position of influence in St. Louis and played an active role in the work of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The unrest of the time, in the minds of the millenarians, played a distinctly secondary role to the authority of the Scriptures in convincing them of the truth of Christ's Second Coming. Millenarian insistence upon literalistic interpretation seemed excessive even to some who had no questions about the divine inspiration of the Bible, but the millenarian insisted that each detail of the prophetic panorama would be literally fulfilled, and he found in any challenge to verbal, inerrant inspiration of the Bible an attack upon the heart of his faith. By 1875, the millenarians had bonded the doctrine of inspiration onto expectations of the Second Coming of Christ—and they remain as indissolubly linked for the Fundamentalists of the 1960's as they were for the millenarian of the 1870's. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, millenarianism developed enough structure to justify calling it a movement. This is manifested, on the one hand, by the growth of group spirit behind the leadership of men like Brookes and Gordon. Converts to the cause were nurtured through one or another of the millenarian periodicals and were encouraged to attend one of the dozen conferences that were springing up across the country. On the other hand, millenarian teachers, without in the least de-emphasizing the doctrine of Christ's Second Coming, began to branch out into other spheres: they began to transform millenarianism from a special interest group within certain denominations into an embryonic sect with well-articulated teachings on all aspects of the Christian faith. Millenarians developed special teachings concerning the work of the Holy Spirit, constructed a significant theology of missionary evangelism, and continued to emphasize the plenary, verbal, inerrant inspiration of the Scriptures.

This development took place, it should be noted, precisely at the time when the advocates of the New Theology, such as Washington Gladden, and the first proponents of higher criticism, such as Charles A. Briggs, were, in millenarian eyes at least, assaulting the foundations of Christian faith. Millenarianism, though a theology with no more seniority than modernism, and, in a real sense, the product of the same cultural complex, defended its position in the name of the historic Christian faith. Modernism did not perceive its role any more clearly. Though both groups had come into existence as the offspring of a sectarian brand of Protestant revivalistic evangelicalism, they squared off against each other

in apologetic uniform as the conservative defender of the apostolic faith and the emancipated prophet of truth authenticated by science. Historians accepted these labels much too tamely and for far too long.

THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY

When the storm of controversy broke out in the 1920's, Fundamentalism, though newly christened, was scarcely a fledgling movement. While admitting that not everyone who participated in the fight against modernism was a millenarian, I am prepared to argue that the Fundamentalist movement of the 1920's was only the millenarian movement renamed. During the excitement of World War I, many millenarian conferences were held, particularly during 1918, when the British occupation of Palestine stirred hopes that prophecies relating to the return of the Jews to the Holy Land would soon be fulfilled. The one organization with an undisputed claim to leadership in the Fundamentalist movement—the World's Christian Fundamentals Association—was organized in 1919 as the result of those wartime conferences and was established and directed entirely by millenarians—men like Reuben A. Torrey, Amzi C. Dixon, and William Bell Riley. The struggle over modernism in the mission fields, especially in China, was instigated by millenarians Charles G. Trumbull and W. H. Griffith Thomas. And the battles within the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations, the two most severely affected by the Fundamentalist controversy, were fought principally, though not exclusively, by millenarians.

The grand cause of the 1920's, the antievolution crusade, would have existed without any aid or comfort from millenarianism, and it certainly received the greater part of its support from nonmillenarians. Some millenarian-Fundamentalist leaders, for example, William Bell Riley, plunged furiously into the battle to save the innocent from Darwin's dragon, but that was not true of all millenarians. More significantly, the antievolution crusade won thousands of followers, and many of its leaders, from nonmillenarian ranks. The great commoner, W. J. Bryan, though he spoke in defense of Christianity as he understood it, did not understand what he defended at all well, and seems to have had no acquaintance with millenarian teachings. With the exception of Minnesota, where Riley managed the campaign, the greatest part of the agitation over anti-evolution took place in the South and Southwest, where, by the 1920's, millenarianism had scarcely penetrated, and where the churches were not yet troubled by doctrinal controversy. The antievolution crusade remains

a significant episode in the history of millenarian-Fundamentalism, but it was not a definitive one.

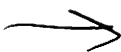
Much like the threat of modernist subversion in that day and the threat of Communist subversion in our own, evolution was looked upon as an issue that focused popular discontent. Uneasiness with the new science provided millenarians with an opportunity for alerting a sleeping world to the peril it faced. But to plunge into a struggle to prohibit the teaching of evolution in the public schools violated the theological principles upon which millenarianism had been founded. Millenarians have consistently taught that nothing can save this world from destruction, and that attempts to ameliorate the condition of man, protect the schools, censor the theater, or save the republic are all doomed. The one activity to which Christians are called is the salvation of souls. One who held these views could hardly justify co-operation in the campaign against evolution. Perhaps this explains why no more millenarians joined Riley in his campaigns. That so many did participate in the crusade would seem to indicate an unresolved tension within the membership of the movement—a tension which has remained alive through the 1960's.

CHANGES IN FUNDAMENTALIST LEADERSHIP

By the early 1930's, Fundamentalist leaders had been forced to accept the fact that they were powerless to drive modernism from its entrenchment in the major denominations. They either had to accept a broad church policy of accommodation or split off from the parent body. After the market collapse in 1929, public attention could no longer be concentrated on denominational squabbles. Fundamentalism dropped out of prominence and was forgotten. But while the movement survived, it did not remain unchanged. Even during the 1920's, Fundamentalist leadership profiles reflect a significant shift in the movement's center of gravity. In the 1870's, millenarianism had been dominated by Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. By 1900, Episcopal and Congregational support had diminished considerably. At the turn of the century, the Baptists were most numerous and the Presbyterians most prominent. By the 1920's, another shift had taken place. Presbyterian support greatly diminished, and a new element, composed of virtually nondenominational Bible institute professors, shared the conference platforms with the continuing ranks of Baptist ministers. In the 1950's and

1960's, leadership in the Fundamentalist movement has not changed substantially, but the Pentecostals have been drawn into much closer alliance with the older membership.

The events of the 1920's made it essential for Fundamentalism to secure its existence outside the old-line denominations where its members could only hope for no more than tolerance. Happily for them, this institutionalization was virtually complete before it became necessary to transfer allegiance. By 1910, several dozen Bible institutes, the most important of which were Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, had been founded, and an association of colleges and academies, known for their continued fidelity to standards of biblical authority, had been organized, in 1919, at the first meeting of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association. Although not designed for this purpose, the Bible institutes soon began to function as ministerial training schools for the large number of churches—whether technically non-denominational or not—which looked to such institutes as, virtually, denominational headquarters.



Internal relationships among Fundamentalist leaders during the 1930's were hardly more friendly than had been the relationship between modernists and Fundamentalists. Schisms occurred in newly established Fundamentalist denominations, such as the Presbyterian church in America, established in 1936 chiefly through the efforts of J. Gresham Machen. This tendency toward infinite division and inextinguishable suspicion has never been resolved, but Fundamentalists have ordinarily lined up in one of two large blocs, the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC), founded in 1941, or the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), founded in 1942. The former body is flamboyant, militant, and negative. The NAE operates more as a holding corporation or accrediting agency. Fundamentalist faith in individualism and jealousy of doctrinal freedom prevent members from delegating any significant amount of authority to the NAE. The NAE and the ACCC are, quite transparently, the Fundamentalist counterpart of the National Council of Churches (NCC). The NAE conducts its business without consciously mimicking the National Council, but the ACCC carries on operations in virtual parody of the NCC, meeting at the same time and place, picketing, and protesting.

Within the context of the ecumenical movement, this phenomenon of parallel institutionalism has been a matter of common knowledge, but the extent to which the parallelism has dominated and shaped the character of the Fundamentalist movement has not, I believe, been adequately recognized. For virtually every professional and scholarly group in the United States, there exists a Fundamentalist equivalent. When the Society of Biblical Exegesis meets, not far away one will find the Evangelical

Theological Society. Fundamentalist scientists can join the American Scientific Affiliation. At meetings of the American Historical Association, the Evangelical Historians hold a breakfast. There exist a Christian Businessmen's Association, a Christian Medical Association, an Inter-iversity Christian Fellowship for students, an Evangelical Press Association, a Fellowship of Christian Athletes, and even a Christian Women's Group for housewives. These and dozens of other parallel institutions, along with Fundamentalist colleges and Bible institutes, provide the structure for the Fundamentalist movement. Research in this field ought to prove intriguing to either historians or sociologists, and might provide a much better insight than we now possess into the potentialities of the movement. At this point, it is possible only to suggest a hypothesis about the function and meaning of this parallelism.

FUNDAMENTALISM AND ITS ADVERSARIES: A SYMBOLIC RELATIONSHIP

From reading the polemical literature of the movement, one might conclude that Fundamentalists would like nothing better than to be rid of the National Council of Churches and the whole liberal establishment. In reading the liberal academicians' interpretations of Fundamentalism, one detects a similarly negative mood. One might conclude that they would like nothing better than to be rid of the movement, their attitude appearing as little more than a ritualized death wish directed against it.

In fact, Fundamentalism lives in symbiotic relationship with its adversaries. In the cases of the ACCC and leaders like Billy James Hargis or Carl McIntire, this relationship can probably be described as parasitic symbiosis, but for moderate Fundamentalists and their foes, it appears to be—in defiance of their rhetoric—a complex and mutually advantageous relationship. The very breath of life seems to be provided for the Fundamentalist by those whom he opposes, each of his positions and opinions being conceived through opposition to a liberal stance or utterance. In their annoyance over this behavior, the critics of Fundamentalism have failed to notice that they are themselves benefiting from the vitality of the movement.

How does this relationship affect Fundamentalism? Though it might be argued that Fundamentalism functions like a shadow cabinet, preparing for the day when it will come to power and substitute its positions for those of the present majority, I find that thesis difficult to accept. Rather, Fundamentalists have continued to operate within the same paradoxical position that created so much tension in the 1920's. On the one hand,

they accept and teach a theology which allows no room for hopes of eventual peace or victory in this world. They cannot, without rejecting the foundation stone of their creed, lend their support to institutions and organizations whose aim is social betterment. Their theology states unequivocally that this world cannot be wrestled from the grip of Satan except by the coming Messiah, and that attempts to ameliorate the effects of sin and evil will eventually play into the hands of him whose world this is. The Christian's present task must be only to preach the Gospel, so that some may escape the inevitable judgment. On the other hand, individual Fundamentalists are overwhelmingly drawn from the white, relatively affluent, middle class, and only rarely seem to feel any personal alienation from contemporary society. Fundamentalists as a group have shown very little sympathy with student revolts and black despair, though one would have thought that the similarity in their ideologies might have drawn such groups together. And given the Fundamentalist's position on the fallibility and seductiveness of man's works, there seems to be some incongruity in his contemporary receptivity to the propaganda of superpatriotism.

Without realizing it, the Fundamentalist has become trapped. He does not want to hate his country. Like most other Americans, he enjoys his creature comforts — watches too much television, overeats, and works crossword puzzles. He really believes that America is beautiful, and that someone ought to do something about water and air pollution, and especially about beer-can clutter on the roadside. At the same time, he cannot contemplate throwing over the millenarian theology of apocalypticism and alienation. To drop these beliefs would be to lose one's identity as a Fundamentalist. Institutionally, it is obvious that the decision to surrender the dogma is unthinkable. The solution to this dilemma has been found in the creation of these parallel institutions through which one can work to benefit society without actually identifying with it.

On the other side of the symbiosis, the non-Fundamentalist forces — the old terms liberal and modernist mean virtually nothing in contemporary society — continue to benefit from Fundamentalism. As seminary enrollments have dropped during the 1960's, the Fundamentalist colleges and Bible schools have continued to supply a surprising number of students, not only to their own schools, but also to institutions such as Union Theological Seminary and the University of Chicago Divinity School, even though the faculties are reputed to be a pack of lions whose regular diet is Christian flesh. Without the continuous transfusion of Fundamentalist vitality, there is reason to doubt whether Protestantism could have survived into the 1960's with as much resiliency as it now displays.

CONTEMPORARY FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism has passed through the 1960's without altering any of its essential doctrinal or organizational positions. Once again, the movement dropped one name for another, preferring to be known, at this point in history, as Evangelicalism. Billy Graham, whose surprising success in the 1950's demonstrated the continuing appeal of the message of biblical liberalism and whose style mirrored the postwar Fundamentalist drive for respectability and conformity mixed with godliness, continued to function as the spokesman for the Evangelical-Fundamentalists, although his associations with representatives of the National Council of Churches proved too compromising to Fundamentalist extremists like McIntire. Since World War II, Fundamentalism has faced no external threat to its existence. The affluence of the past quarter of a century has been appropriated as much by the Fundamentalists as by any other segment of the population. During the first years of Graham's fame, Fundamentalists continually asked each other a question that reflected doubts about themselves and about the movement as a whole: Would success spoil Billy Graham? Despite the grumping of the ACCC, it seems to me that Graham's stability, strength, and adaptability correctly reflect qualities in the movement from which he sprang to prominence, and which he still serves as spokesman and demigod.

Perhaps it was because so little remained in America to trouble the souls of contemporary Fundamentalists that the anti-Communist crusade of the 1950's and 1960's, for the first time since the antievolution campaigns of the 1920's, threatened to become an issue which might swamp the movement. The absence of serious tension between Fundamentalism and contemporary American society, and the Fundamentalists' growing prosperity, created a situation in which the antagonist (Russian communism, instead of German theories of higher criticism), might better be located somewhere other than within America, though its effects could be fought here. For a time, I believe, there was serious danger that anti-Communist hysteria might actually sweep Fundamentalism off its feet. Though the movement of the Radical Right has not evaporated, and still appeals to many Fundamentalists, the identification of the two movements now seems unlikely. As in the 1920's, there are those leaders, for example, Billy James Hargis and Carl McIntire, for whom anti-Communist subversion has become virtually the only topic of discourse. But other leading Fundamentalist institutions have maintained their balance. Moody Bible Institute, for example, devoted one

of its main sessions at an annual Founder's Day Conference in the early 1960's to the menace of Communist subversion, but then, in the face of criticism, backed away from such topics.

When one looks at Fundamentalism from the perspective of the 1960's, there is much about the movement that would appear to be significant. Their antagonists accused the Fundamentalists of obscurantism and anti-intellectualism because they refused to accept the scholars' arguments concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch or the date of Daniel. The Fundamentalist's response was often anti-intellectual, but it was also classically American. He claimed his God-given, democratic birth-right to believe whatever he pleased. As observers from the time of Tocqueville have noticed, Americans place little restraint upon the right of a majority, often in defiance of minority rights and in spite of the weight of evidence on the other side, to decide—to accept, to do, or to believe what they please. Lawrence Levine, in his recent study of W. J. Bryan's last years, has given a brilliant exposition of this side of Bryan's character, depicting, for example, a Bryan who believed that if only enough people joined in signing declarations against war, nothing could prevent the triumph of peace. No refutation of this concept is necessary, of course, but it does seem necessary, especially in the face of the derision which has been heaped upon the Fundamentalists for responding in this fashion, to emphasize that, though they may have been wrong, they were mistaken in the true-blue American way.

FUNDAMENTALISM AS AN AUTHENTIC CONSERVATIVE TRADITION

Their significance also arises from the fact that Fundamentalism can lay claim to representing one of the few authentic conservative traditions in American history. During the past few decades, there has been considerable interest by historians in the quest for an American conservative tradition, though the search has proved unsuccessful to this date. None of the likely candidates, like Calhoun or the theorists of the American Revolution, possessed the integrity, consistency, and sense of tradition necessary to fill the role. My nomination of Fundamentalism to play this part may, at first, seem ludicrous to many readers but I believe it deserves serious consideration. I have already denied to Fundamentalism what might seem to be the one essential ingredient in any conservative tradition—a clear and accurate understanding of the past. Fundamentalists claimed that they were fighting to defend the doctrine and discipline of the Apostles, whereas it has been my contention that they

were, rather, defending weak points in a quite sectarian variant of nineteenth-century evangelical theology. The fallacy in this objection lies in the mistaken premise. Conservative traditions seem to flourish best where the leaders' memories are selective or faulty, and no probing historical inquiries interrupt the defense of the cause. This was certainly true of the Roman, Papal, and British traditions. Fundamentalism appears to possess every other requisite of a viable conservative tradition as well. The movement has been built out of grass-roots support, its values and truths are well articulated and consistently maintained, the connection with an appealing and vital past is never forgotten, and it survives.

There could be no conservative tradition at all in America if the arguments of the historians of consensus were valid. Each conflict in American history, these scholars argue, has concluded with a resolution of the issue and the emergence of a new consensus to which everyone pledges his allegiance. The losers either pack up and leave, like the Tories in the American Revolution, or swallow their pride, abandon their views, and join in the celebration of victory. That historians such as Richard Hofstadter and William G. McLoughlin can offer this interpretation of the fate of Fundamentalism during the 1960's strikes me as not only mistaken but perverse.² By pretending that Fundamentalism is quietly fading away, these scholars are obscuring that perspective on the Fundamentalist movement which might provide the most helpful insight into the nature of the contemporary American dilemma. We exist in a fragmented and divided culture, not in one pervaded by consensus. We live in a society in which most of the problems are created by sub-groups whose values and ideals are threatened by changes in technological, economic, or political practices, and who doggedly refuse to drop their claims or change their attitudes as the result of a little more education or the passage of a little more time. Prayer in the public schools, Negroes living in white neighborhoods, the guaranteed annual wage, the new morality, Communist infiltration of government agencies, deficit spending—the list of issues seems almost infinitely expandable. It seems very much to the point, in the face of such a catalogue of grievances—each with its own organization dedicated to maintaining that particular truth and defeating the agents of innovation—to challenge the Pollyanna of progress, and to recognize that this century is seeing American culture in a new context. The era of consensus is past, and the millenarian-Fundamentalist movement—now nearly one hundred years old—provides us with a model for the study of conservative survival and vitality.

CONCLUSION

Thus, Fundamentalism, which, in the 1920's, was given very little chance for survival, much less development, continues to exist, to grow, and, one might almost say, to flourish. The closely related nineteenth-century doctrines of the imminent Second Coming of Christ and the verbal, inerrant inspiration of the Bible had not seemed to be the kind of base upon which to build such an institutional structure. The maintenance of a conservative tradition founded essentially upon ideas unsupported by the intellectual and scientific authorities in the society, and possessed of no clear or direct commitment from any of the powerful vested interests in the nation, seemed to hold little promise of longevity. But what has seemed an enigma now begins to look like a model. Nineteenth-century culture apparently developed more than one idea endowed with conservative potential. The process of rapid, technologically induced change seems destined to succeed where poets and historians have previously failed. By stripping every sector of American society to its bare essentials, to its irreducible commitments, this giant change machine is defining the American character. Everyone today seems faced with a choice between a role as modern man or as American. Modern man must be the man who can adapt to anything, who can live in any surroundings with a set of functional values designed to help him survive in that environment. But the American is emerging as the man who has something to remember and something to protect. At this point in the twentieth century, the Fundamentalist continues to insist that he is the inheritor, guardian, and advocate of the central truths of the Christian faith. And at this point in the twentieth century, one might ask if he does not also represent the archetypal and modal American—the man who while losing his country has found it.

NOTES

1. Ernest R. Sandeen, *Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), reprinted from *Church History* 36 (March 1967).

2. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963); Wm. G. McLoughlin, "Is There a Third Force in Christendom?," *Daedalus* (Winter 1967), pp. 43-68.

Obstacles to Evangelism in the World

Opposition to forthright and vigorous evangelism is as old as the proclamation of the Christian Gospel. As in Apostolic times, so today "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." Realism requires that the Church Evangelical recognize man's built-in resistance to forthright assertion of the demands of Jesus Christ as a constant element in the sinful human situation. Its presence should not surprise us, and the sensitive evangelist should be prepared to cope lovingly with its manifestations.

Realism demands keen awareness, also, that at given periods in history the factors in human experience which resist proclamation of the Good News frequently gain additional force and supporting rationale by appearing in some new form. We propose to identify and discuss those elements and movements that are especially and typically characteristic of our day, and that constitute a special obstacle to projecting the message of *Christus Redemptor* upon modern society. While most, if not all, of these elements are not entirely new, they seem to exert their force in new and formidable combinations as we move into the last third of the twentieth century. They find vigorous implementation in the dynamics

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of our time—a time whose developments we witness, not with fear, but with a sense of challenge and a spirit of faith. This issue should and must be considered in terms of a “realism of faith.”

1. NATIONALISM AS AN OBSTACLE

The Christian finds himself perplexed by some of the problems posed by patriotism and especially by nationalism, its distorted syndrome. Love of locale (and with it, love of country) are a part of God's endowment to man, and are significant factors in shaping man's everyday life. Like all of God's *Ordnungen*, they are open to distortion, and to implementation that may be humanly disadvantageous, even disastrous. It may be noted, parenthetically, that a part of the paradox of human freedom is that God permits the *Ordnungen* through which he is at work providentially in the world to be distorted by human error and human sin.

In its extreme form, nationalism is a distortion of that normal love of country, and normal pride which men and women take in their country's group achievement. It is foolish to denounce nationalism without trying to understand its dynamics. In a very real sense, today's growing nationalism is a reaction to the older colonialism by peoples who seek “a place in the sun.” It takes no political radicalism to suggest that God's providence may be working in those movements whereby peoples historically disadvantaged by cultural, economic or religious factors try to share the freedoms and comforts achieved by the more prosperous societies.

There are movements, for example, as expressions of God's providential order in the world, through which men and women heretofore limited by predetermined social structures are demanding and receiving the opportunity to participate creatively in a far broader society. Likewise, Christians can applaud movements that erase the feeling of fatalism from the under-privileged and that recognize such infusion or restoration of a sense of self-worth as “the Lord's doing.” At the same time, the rising tide of human aspiration may adopt shortsighted methods, and thereby thwart its own best interests. Seen in some contexts at least, nationalism may be one of these myopic techniques.

Nationalism may appeal too largely to past grievances; by holding these so prominently in memory, it may jeopardize their proper evaluation and thus encourage an unwarranted and unfortunate clinging to obsolete cultural patterns. That is to say, people under the pressures of nationalism may adhere to outmoded and deleterious social forms simply

as a symbol of resistance to something else that is disliked or not wanted. Nationalistic feeling may thus result in perpetuating institutions and practices that are actually harmful to a given society, and may implement resistance to forces that would be beneficial, that would offer new horizons and fresh opportunities. This resistance and rejection may stem from lack of understanding or perspective. Sometimes, for example, even when the contributions of Christian missions are acknowledged and used, a proud people may reject their source on the ground that they represent something alien and foreign.

Such nationalism may identify the presence of an evangelistic agency or movement with colonialism, and, as a reflex, advocate policies that are emotionally charged and that offer no positive and far-reaching benefits. Strong nationalistic feeling may lead, for example, to denial of visas to evangelistic missionaries, perhaps on the ground that "they would duplicate the work that nationals can do." Although this is an understandable attitude, it may overlook the fact that the national may desperately need and want outside assistance and sympathetic support.

The Christian Church will need to live for a long time with the accumulated results of exploitive practices and condescendingly humiliating attitudes that secular agencies of the Western nations have exercised during the past two or three centuries among the underdeveloped peoples of the world. Or, to turn for a moment to the Church overseas, it may even be that in some places the paternalistic attitude of certain mission leaders has generated its own brand of reflex nationalism. In any case, no person interested in vital evangelism can afford to overlook or underestimate the dynamics of nationalism within the rising and aspiring nations. If nationalism contains elements that frustrate him, it may nonetheless also offer the fore-gleams of promise. Nationalism has a way of running its course, and better counsel often prevails after a period of fumbling national experimentation.

2. TOTALITARIANISM AS AN OBSTACLE

Viewed pragmatically, the questions posed by totalitarian systems for Christian evangelism seem to resolve themselves into simple black and white terms: where totalitarian systems prevail, mission fields close and evangelism, of the public variety at least, ceases. The question comes immediately, however: should the Christian Church accept this pattern as a final and foregone conclusion? While it is difficult to project the "world of the future," yet there is reason to suspect that while they

grope for viable political and social systems, many of the slowly developing lands will experiment with some form or other of totalitarian or quasi-totalitarian governmental forms. In some cases this fact may lead to temporarily closed mission areas. It is also possible, however, that the processes by which totalitarian systems modify themselves from within may so continue to work in some lands formerly closed to evangelism that opportunities for the Gospel may present themselves sooner than we think. In other words, if, for example, citizens under dictatorships move increasingly toward stability and away from disruptive revolution, some of the developing lands now not open to public evangelism may in the foreseeable future become lands of promise for evangelistic endeavor. At the same time, we must reconcile ourselves to the probability that some countries formerly regarded most suitable for missionary and evangelistic endeavor may not be capable of penetration for several decades.

Those of us who are vitally interested in evangelism are perplexed by the fact that, as a rule, churches in totalitarian lands cease to be prophetic in several important senses. First, they seldom speak with a prophetic voice, for example, concerning the corruption of their youth by doctrinaire anti-religious teaching. Second, they tend to develop a protective mentality—to remain as inconspicuous as possible lest they be drawn into conflict with official policy. As a consequence, evangelism tends to be eliminated altogether, or to be confined to groups in the church's immediate orbit. In short, churches under totalitarian governments tend to become priestly, ritualistic and cloistered, and fall prey to more or less subtle forms of nationalism.

Today's evangelistic Church needs to be keenly alert to possible small opportunities in totalitarian lands. It must be recognized that some countries wholly closed to evangelistic endeavor five or ten years ago manifest a "crack in the door" for operation of a free-church form of evangelization. Openings need to be explored and potential opportunities seized—always with the Holy Spirit's guidance. There must be no place in the mentality of men and women of faith for a theological fatalism that accepts as final the slamming of a door by revolutionary movements. Not despair, but cautious exploration, should be the mood of the Christian who seeks by all means to "become all things to all men." It is helpful to recall that originally Christianity was projected into a world that was under a sophisticated totalitarian system. No doubt St. Paul and the other Apostles, no less than the Fathers, felt frustrated and limited in many aspects of their work. But they never allowed forbidding external circumstances to paralyze them into inaction. Then as now,

those who view things with eyes of faith see God working providentially also in human governmental structures, however imperfect as media they may seem for expressing God's activity.

3. MODERN MATERIALISM AS AN OBSTACLE

The charge of "materialism" is frequently leveled indiscriminately against all who are concerned with the material and temporal aspects of human life and society. Some of the unstructured thinking on this question, in the West no less than in the East, has failed to remember that God is Creator of the material order, and uses it to channel and accomplish both his providential and redemptive purposes. To be thoroughly and characteristically Christian in perspective, one must give proper recognition to the Divine ordination of the material structures of our world; one must see how the New Testament emphasizes the placement of Christians as stewards within them.

We readily grant that concern with the temporal and the material may very easily degenerate into a form of idolatry, into an absolutizing of visible finites. We recognize also that at this point certain thinkers tend rather uncritically to posit false antitheses. For example, it was once fashionable for representatives of Eastern cultures to say to the West, "You have refrigerators, but we have spiritual values." Obviously this is a radical oversimplification, for people of Eastern lands desire to participate in technological progress no less than do men and women of the West. Modern advertising has seen to that!

There is, of course, a legitimate place for recognizing and criticizing the wave of materialism that has swept over our world, that has gone hand in hand with the industrial revolution, and more recently with the technological revolution. It is an oversimplification to say that the factory—the assembly line if you wish—causes materialism. It is more correct to say that materialism is a distortion of something that is divinely implanted—a drive that impels man to greater heights of human comfort and human dignity. It must be acknowledged, after all, that while the advent of the machine placed heavy loads upon mankind at some points, it also relieved men of certain heavy and degrading burdens. No critique of current materialism is thoroughly penetrating unless it comes to grips with this fact.

The real heart of the matter is, of course, that the precise meaning of materialism is found in an outlook, an attitude toward life, which

measures the meaning and goals of man's life in terms of visible and tangible things, and which dogmatically casts aside all values which cannot be resolved into these terms or harnessed to the acquisition of goods. In other words, materialism may exist not only at the level of ideology, but may also become a total philosophy of life. At the ideological level, materialism may exist quite independent of the presence or absence of the actual symbols of material existence. The mere availability of material objects (although this very availability or nonavailability may complicate the problem) is not what generates materialism as a *Weltanschauung*; rather, it is a basic attitude toward the structures of the universe and toward the nature of human existence that determines this point of view. Our divine Lord had this in mind when he said, "Take heed, and beware of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in abundance of the things which he possesseth" (Luke 12:15).

It must be said here that while today's materialism is often covert and unarticulated, it is at the same time constitutive. At the most obvious level, and in the closest meaning of the term, few persons will openly profess materialism. Even in Marxist lands, professed materialism is the articulate creed of the few. Wherever even the most superficial acknowledgement is given to doctrines of human worth and dignity, materialism becomes unpalatable. This reaction answers to something deep within man—something which we gratefully acknowledge has survived the Fall. However, while it is possible to disavow the materialist creed, it is possible at the same time to manifest its consequences and expressions to a disturbing degree. Such practical materialism, which uncritically measures all values in terms of visible and tangible things, can produce a climate of indifference which, in the long run, may be less responsive to the Christian Evangel than the climate of active resistance and articulate rejection that stems from avowed materialism. Certainly the latter is less difficult to recognize than the former; and certainly anyone who professes materialism as an overt creed is more self-conscious of his position, and therefore more susceptible to direct confrontation by the claims of the Living Christ.

We are simply saying that covert materialism may offer an oblique form of opposition to Christian evangelism that has far more frustrating aspects than does creedal and dogmatic materialism. Outspoken and articulate opposition is frequently less difficult to measure and to penetrate than is the mildly curious and bland type, which tends simply to bypass the claims of our Lord as irrelevant. A message that emphasizes the unseen and the eternal frequently appears quaintly antique and colorless to the materialist mentality which uncritically but persistently measures life in terms of visible achievement, in terms of acquiring the

symbols of power and status. True Christian evangelism summons men and women to a vital commitment to the unseen—to a Person who in this life must be “seen with the eyes of faith.” It is tragic that a genial, practical form of materialism can decisively dismiss Christ and his claims with a shrug or smile no less than can the hard, dogmatic type.

It would be a grave error to suppose that today’s materialism is seen only in its attitude of commitment to tangible and marketable items. On the contrary, the materialism so evident in our affluent civilization is a way of thinking which stresses its own “invisibilities.” These are frequently such factors as leisure, entertainment, modes of “escape.” We would unhesitatingly call “materialistic” those mental attitudes which, for example, make the mere attainment of retirement age a value, and which seek the earliest possible opportunity to withdraw from creative effort, in order to “enjoy life” at the beaches and pass simply as spectators on the world scene.

For all its stress upon how *things* are to be secured, the spirit of modern materialism rejects the Christian view of work as something God-given, and returns to the “classical” view which regards work as a necessary but unwelcome intruder into the life of man. As Carl F. H. Henry rightly observes, the materialistic mood of modern man tries to solve the qualitative problem posed by the biblical mandate to work in narrow quantitative terms. The qualitative approach regards work as a stewardship, to be pursued under the recognition that some day the Lord of the harvest will call the laborers to a reckoning. The quantitative approach tends to view and evaluate life in terms of how men and women are released from grinding toil in order to engage in a narrowly-construed “pursuit of happiness.”

Certainly no Christian can deny that there are forms of work and exploitation by ruthless employers which violate human dignity and reduce men and women to something less than persons. The evangelical cannot reflect the heart of his Lord without not only sympathizing with those thus bound, but also identifying himself as a Christian citizen with movements that offer genuine promise of remedying social and economic wrongs. It must be remembered, however, that if exploitation by an unjust employer has served to dull the worker’s ears to the Good News, the tyranny of uncreative leisure is scarcely much better for opening the heart to the Lord’s “Follow me.”

As a member of the Christian task force, the evangelist must therefore bear in mind that today’s materialism has a two-pronged thrust: on the one hand, it encourages and underwrites high (and frequently inordinate and unrealistic) forms of temporal aspiration; on the other, it tends to make a man a prisoner of his own leisure, of his own quest for entertain-

ment, of his own pursuit of spectatorism, of those "escapes" now sought the world over. The result in either case is a shrinking of what is meaningful in human life—of what gives relevance to life. The most vicious aspect of the tyranny of materialism is its ability to produce merely earth-bound aspirations, to produce a climate in which the transcendent and otherworldly seems strangely antiquated and dull. It is against this kind of materialism that Christian evangelism must do its work, and into the mood created by materialism that evangelism must project its message.

For all the contemporary stress upon individuality and individualism, current materialism nevertheless tends to be anti-individualistic in a particularly invidious sense, in that it affords a wider variety of ways to evade moral accountability. There are trends in our materialistically oriented society which erode the sense of individual self-reliance and foster "great expectation" quite apart from either personal endeavor or personal worth. Without assuming a spirit of uncritical and wholesale opposition to programs that try to increase people's security within a technological society, the Christian must nonetheless recognize that the welfare state, by assuming responsibility for ever more areas of human life that were once considered the legitimate realm for exercising human initiative, undermines the sense of individual responsibility.

This fact has inevitable repercussions in the area of personal evangelism, where proclamation of the Good News is considered to have a basically individual appeal, and in which the proclaimer, through the power of the Divine Spirit, seeks to bring about the confession that "against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight!" (Psalm 51:4). The calls of our Lord are, after all, intensely and persistently personal and individual. A constituent part of evangelism is the isolating of an individual from the crowd, and confronting him with the issues between him and his Maker. Loss of the sense of individual responsibility, chargeable in significant part to a materialistic outlook, tends to cause modern man to relegate high ethical and spiritual decisions to the limbo of "matters that are of concern only to the aged, the infirmed and the life-evaders." The mood is a powerful enemy to the projections of the Christian Evangel.

In summary, let it be said that materialism, insofar as it objectifies the aspirations of long disadvantaged groups, is a factor with which we must reckon permanently, until there come "a new heaven and a new earth." Nor will it suffice for the Evangelical to take refuge in any simple and acquiescent misapplication of the Scripture, "the poor ye have always with you." There are, obviously, grave and subtle perils in the contemporary and unstructured demand for "involvement", which has come to

mean the identification of great ecclesiastical structures with some specific program of social and economic betterment. At the same time, there are equally grave perils implicit in the danger of restricting the cutting edge of the Christian Evangel solely to the matter of personal redemption, and of neglecting the manner in which the Christian mandate includes bringing the claims of the sovereign Lord of all life to bear upon the structures of society.

But at whatever level materialism asserts its claims within the movements and structures of modern life, it will pose both problems and temptations to the evangelical Christian. Nothing will be gained by an indiscriminate attack upon technology, or by any proposal for some artificial simplification of today's life. Clarification of vision and Christianization of our value judgments: Yes. Return to an allegedly simple agrarian form of existence: No. Evangelism must take a realistic measure of its opponents: it must seek to examine and to evaluate as highly determinative the issue of man's involvement with materialism in an increasingly complex society. The emphasis must be, not upon a mere denunciation of trends, but upon skillful application of the weapons at our disposal to the task of breaching the walls behind which material-minded modern man has entrenched himself—the walls of exclusive preoccupation with one-level existence, of cultural and ethical relativity, and of collectivistic evasion of responsibility and ethical accountability.

4. *TODAY'S INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE AS AN OBSTACLE*

The Christian cannot dismiss current intellectual trends with a sweep of the hand as being either basically friendly or unqualifiedly hostile to the proclamation of the Christian message. At the same time, it is unrealistic to fail to recognize that the general *Zeitgeist* of the 1960s tends to operate in a manner that is anti-evangelistic in several important senses. A brand of intellectualism is abroad which associated itself all too easily with a cavalier attitude toward public, mass evangelism. In some allegedly sophisticated circles, it is regarded as "in" to take the stance of downgrading evangelistic institutions. It is to this mood that dramatist Bertolt Brecht appealed in his *Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe* (*St. Joan of the Stockyards*) with its brutal caricature of the Salvation Army.

With predictable and almost boring frequency one hears the typical "liberal" verdict: "the day of mass evangelism is past." This sentiment had so filtered into the thinking of non-religious circles, that until events

of the past two decades called it into serious question it was accepted almost as an axiom. Happily, God in his providence has brought movements to the fore which have challenged this assumption in wide and significant circles.

Too, scientific naturalism—enjoying tremendous prestige—has been an articulate foe for the major premises underlying Christian evangelism. The honest Christian cannot but admit a certain ambivalence in his attitude toward contemporary naturalistic science. On the one hand, science has discovered techniques and released procedural resources that have revolutionized his way of living and greatly increased his comforts. On the other hand, the overall impact of naturalistic science upon the intellectual and spiritual climate of our age has meant the undercutting of many factors that are indispensable to vigorous propagation of the Good News. It tends to reduce the force of the Gospel's appeal to the individual sinner to turn to the supernatural. It tends to crowd out from modern man's perspective any compelling glimpse of the life to come, and to exclude from his concern those issues which would make the pursuit of that future life an urgent issue.

Again, the intellectual climate of the day frequently caricatures Christianity's role in the world. This may be done at a number of levels. The modern secularist spirit abstracts the unfortunate elements in the total impact of Christianity in history—these have indeed existed and have done their work—and makes them a gauge for evaluating Christianity as a whole. Or, modern intellectualism may implement its objections to the Christian revelation by appealing to the alleged claim by other religious systems to exclusive authority. Those who argue thus overlook the fact that what is genuine inevitably calls forth its counterfeit; moreover, it is one thing to lay claim to an exclusive authority, and quite another to proclaim a Person who has come into man's daily life, and who in his own Person has come to grips with life's most persistent and staggering problem and has emerged triumphant from the conflict.

Realism demands the recognition also that today's intellectual climate is shaped by a hedonistic spirit, a spirit that regards pleasure (often understood very superficially) as the highest good. This spirit is articulated in life philosophies that parade as "new"; adherence to them, accordingly, whether in theory or in practice, is regarded as "in" and thus culturally acceptable. Among these none has greater appeal, it seems, than the so-called "new morality." Regrettably some theologians, seeking to be *avant-garde*, are lending the support of their scholarship and reputation to the so-called "situational ethic," which ranges itself against all forms of principal morality, and insists that every behavioral

situation is unique and *sui generis*, and should therefore, be met, not by any appeal to principles or revealed mandates, but by applying an unstructured form of *agape*, which allegedly is sufficient, even in volatile and emotionally-charged situations, to tell persons what to do.

We do not intend to give a detailed critique here of this system. It must be said, however, that it caricatures the ethical demands of the Christian Evangel, and leaves the inexperienced person with the overwhelming task of navigating the seas of a precariously balanced moral world without chart or compass. Moreover, its net result is the weakening of the sense of moral obligation to which the Christian evangelistic message addresses itself. When the ethical norm is rendered nebulous, when the individual himself becomes the ultimate source of ethical judgment, it is no wonder that a person's awareness of God's claims upon him is weakened and diluted.

A parallel trend is that precipitated by certain superficial psychological systems which seem determined to undercut man's understanding of the problems of sin and guilt. Accounting for human behavior on the basis of environmental pressure upon "normal and neutral response-patterns," they reduce or eliminate the sense of personal responsibility for those types of behavior which Christianity considers sinful. In many intellectual circles it is fashionable to insist upon a radical appraisal of all that has historically been called "sin" or "sinful" and to do so within a context that tries to cope with what are termed "feelings of guilt" rather than to point men and women to him who gave himself to destroy sin and to lift the crushing burden of man's guilt through genuine forgiveness.

The implications of this for Christian evangelism are evident enough. Projection of the claims of the Lord Christ, in terms of the message which by the help of the Holy Spirit seeks to precipitate a sense of guilt in keeping with the realities of man's sin-predicament, and to produce evangelical repentance, must face the fact (in today's intellectual climate) of sophisticated and highly articulate ideological foes. False intellectualism unceasingly insists that man is somehow "captain of his soul" and haughtily suggests that to press upon him the claims of supernatural assistance is to downgrade him. This spirit creates a formidable barrier in appealing to the Gospel to meet man's distressed and helpless plight, and his need for supernatural rescue. St. Paul may have referred to just such elements in the intellectual climate of his day when he reminded the Church at Ephesus (and the Church of our day with them) that "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" (Ephesians 6:12).

5. OBSTACLES CREATED BY THE INFLUENCE OF ALIEN ELEMENTS IMPINGING UPON THE CHURCH

To a degree sometimes unrecognized, the Church finds that the thinking of both her members and her leaders is subtly shaped by outside forces which are uncongenial, at times even hostile, to her evangelistic thrust. Interaction between the thinking of the Christian and the thought-climate of his world is inevitable. It is likewise to be noted that the mid-twentieth century Church has been singularly unaware of the massive, if not glacial, incursion of paganism into the contemporary world. Far too long, multitudes of Christians have assumed a sort of "inverted Constantinianism" in this respect—inverted in that the Church has not assumed responsibility for the thought modes of the world, but instead has tended to assume the world to be essentially Christian in its ideology.

It is not easy for an organization or for individuals to be keenly aware of the essentially alien quality of much of the surrounding world-climate, on the one hand, and, on the other, to operate affirmatively and creatively within that climate. A certain peril besets anyone who does indeed possess an awareness of the crucial and crisis nature of the Christian's position in an alien thought-world, a peril, namely, of assuming defensive attitudes that will alienate the non-Christian. A greater danger, however, seems to lie in uncritically accepting the ideals and norms of the world and, in doing so, becoming their prisoner. To be specific, it is possible for well-meaning Christians to become immersed in the materialistic *Weltanschauung* to a degree which they do not realize; an experience which leaves them really unimpressed with the urgent claims of the Christian Evangel with its strong insistence upon the reality of the unseen. After all, materialism is materialism whether it creeps or gallops!

Further, the Church too often finds her self-image, the vision of her mission, and the understanding of her destiny to be subtly shaped by the essentially pagan nature of her environment. After all, it is not pleasant to realize and acknowledge that the civilization of the so-called Christian West has been erected upon principles which very largely omit God from their reckoning. But it is this that lies at the heart of paganism; and seen in this light, our culture can scarcely be judged in any other terms. In such a situation only a prophetic Church can retain her "vision glorious" and her "hope eternal"; without these, her evangelistic task inevitably loses meaning and dynamic.

Moreover, the Church needs always to be aware of the peril that she may be paralyzed into inaction by the sheer weight of the forces ranged

against her. The statistical trends of the day are not encouraging, for it is evident that growth in world population is greatest in those areas where the Christian witness, so far as one can see, is the weakest; nor has missionary endeavor by any reckoning been able to keep pace with the population increase. Perhaps here the Church needs to listen to those whose world vision entitles them to speak, and who say that never has there been a time when so many persons from "every nation, kindred and tongue" are lifting their voices in a sincere "Our Father." At the same time, the vast forces ranged against the Christian Gospel and the Christian Church may cut the nerve of evangelistic endeavor, unless they are counterbalanced by a strong assurance that it is "the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

The foregoing obstacles suggest the imperative need for a renewed spirit of discernment, no less than a spirit of dedication, by the Church—a renewal which takes realistic account of the alien and paganizing forces ranged against her, and which at every level and front threaten to penetrate her own thinking. The Church needs to become acutely aware that the creeping paganism of the time bears no friendship for the essential facts that underlie aggressive evangelism, such as: the universal sinfulness and consequent lostness of men apart from Christ the Redeemer, the imperatives of repentance and faith in him, the certainty of a final day of reckoning, and the overwhelming sterility of life lived apart from the living Christ. Insofar as the world impinges upon the thinking of the Church, to that degree the presence of built-in opposition to the Evangel at these levels constitutes a potentially hostile base of operation against a vital evangelism, especially if this opposition conceals its objectives by subtle invasion of the intellect.

This constellation of obstacles to Evangelism in the world and in the intellectual climate of the world points up several imperative needs within the Church as she faces her task of proclaiming the Gospel. There is need for a renewal of vision. There is need for a realistic assessment of the magnitude and organization of the forces ranged against her. There is need for a renewed appraisal of her mandate to world evangelism in terms of her "marching orders," paralleled by a realistic reassessment of the inner dynamic of her message.

Christian realism will dictate an awareness that the crucial and decisive phases of the Church's struggle cannot be won by any vast holding-operation, however well this might be planned and articulated. This struggle is a conflict that can be met only by a vigorous and affirmative thrust of the Evangel into the age. For such a thrust, our age must have a highly skillful and deeply discerning evangelistic task force.

The Church and Abortion Reform

Just as political revolutions affect every aspect of life, so do religious revolutions. As greater emphasis is placed on personal choice, societal restrictions break down. In recent years the issue of abortion has received increasing attention as those who favor abortion on demand oppose groups like the Right to Life organization. As in all social issues, these are moral questions and religion has had to confront them. The controversy still rages with many states looking to New York, the leading state in liberalization of abortion laws, for possible direction, although the results in New York do not seem to be offering any direction as yet.

The opening selection takes sharp issue with the position that a woman has total right to her body. Dr. Gordon Zahn argues that at the moment of conception there is something living which will develop into a human being—not a dog, a cat, or something else. He further contends that the fetus has the right to life at the beginning of the life process, and so has society's obligation to protect it.

The view of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod is that nontherapeutic abortion is wrong from theological, legal, and medical considerations. Allowing that abortion might be permitted under the condition of danger to the mother's life, the point is still made that such circumstances are extremely rare.

A practicing counselor points out that the issue is loaded with many gray areas. He does however, in conclusion, state that in a variety of circumstances abortion is often the proper alternative to a problem pregnancy and that the final decision is "fundamentally . . . one to be made by the prospective mother."

Among the many positions on this issue it is difficult to find the way. Rarely is anyone satisfied with any position other than his own. This unit provides an opportunity to look at a sensitive, emotional issue and form some conclusions for yourself.

A Religious Pacifist Looks at Abortion

Prudence, if nothing else, would seem to dictate that a celibate male, especially one committed to pacifism, should avoid getting embroiled in controversy with the women's liberation crowd. Ordinarily I would be all set to go along with this and not only for reasons of such prudential restraint. I am in general agreement with the movement's objectives and principles and more than ready to give it the benefit of almost every doubt—even though I do wish at times that its principal spokesmen (?) could be a little more, if not “ladylike,” at least gentlemanly in their rhetoric and tone. But these are minor reservations.

There is one point of substance, however, on which I must register strong disagreement, and that is the increasing emphasis being placed on “free abortion on demand” as a principal plank in the liberationists' platform. From my perspective as a religious pacifist, I find this proposal thoroughly abhorrent; and I am disturbed by the willingness of so many who share my political and theological approach in most respects to go along with or condone a practice which so clearly contradicts the values upon which that approach is based.

In the past I have criticized “establishment” Christians, in particular official Catholic ecclesiastical and theological spokesmen, for their hyper-

sensitivity to the evil of killing the unborn and their almost total disregard of the evil of "post-natal" abortion in the form of the wholesale destruction of human life in war. The argument works both ways and with equal force: those of us who oppose war cannot be any less concerned about the destruction of human life in the womb.

In discussing this issue from a pacifist standpoint I do not intend to enter upon two controversies which, though clearly related to the problem of abortion, are somewhat peripheral to my essential concern for life and the reverence for life. Thus, the whole question of the morality of contraception, obviously one of the alternatives to abortion as a means of population control, involves moral principles of an altogether different order. More closely related but also excluded from consideration here is the legal question, that is whether or not anti-abortion legislation now on the statute books should be repealed, modified, or retained. One can argue, as I shall here, that abortion is immoral and still recognize compelling practical and theoretical reasons for not using state authority to impose a moral judgment that falls so far short of universal acceptance within the political community. On the other hand, there are equally compelling arguments upholding legal prohibition of what has long been considered by many to be a form of murder; and this takes on added force to the extent that repeal of laws already in effect will be interpreted as official authorization of the hitherto forbidden practice. Since the intention here is to discuss the objections to abortion itself, this very important legal question will be left for others to debate and resolve.

Nor will I comment upon what I consider the tactical blunder on the part of the liberationists to "borrow trouble" by making so touchy an issue—on emotional as well as moral grounds—a central part of their program. I must, however, reject the rationale that is usually advanced to support their demands, the "property rights" line which holds that because a woman's body is "her own," she and she alone must be left free to decide what is to be done about the developing fetus. Leaving aside the obvious fact that the presence of the fetus suggests a decision that could have been made earlier, this line of argument represents a crude reversion to the model of *laissez-faire* economics Catholics of a liberal or radical persuasion have long since repudiated. Even if one were to accept the characterization of a woman's body as "property" (is it not one of the liberationists' complaints that men and man-made laws have reduced her to that status?), the claim to absolute rights of use and disposal of that property could not be taken seriously. The owner of a badly needed residential building is not, or at least *should not be*, free to evict his tenants to suit a selfish whim or to convert his property to some

frivolous or non-essential use. In such a case we would insist upon the traditional distinction which describes property as private in ownership but social in use.

To use another example, the moral evil associated with prostitution does not lie solely, perhaps not even primarily, in the illicit sex relationship but, rather, in the degradation of a person to precisely this status of a "property" available for "use" on a rental or purchase basis. It is a tragic irony that the advocates of true and full personhood for women have chosen to provide ideological justification for attitudes which have interfered with recognition of that personhood in the past.

This is not to say, of course, that a woman does not have prior rights over her own body but only that the exercise of those rights must take into account the rights of others. In monogamous marriage this would preclude a wife's "freedom" to commit adultery (a principle, it should be unnecessary to add, which applies to the husband as well). Similarly, in the case of a pregnancy in wedlock, the husband's rights concerning the unborn child must be respected too; indeed, even in a pregnancy out of wedlock, the putative father retains parental rights to the extent that he is ready to assume his share of responsibility for the child's future needs. In both cases, and this is the crux of the argument, of course, the rights of the unborn child, perhaps the most important claimant of all, must be respected and protected.

HUMAN RIGHTS

These categories of rights, I insist, are not to be put in any "property rights" or similar economic frame of reference. They represent elementary human rights arising out of an intimacy of union between responsible persons which transcends purely utilitarian or proprietary considerations. The governing consideration as far as the unborn child is concerned is simply this: when do these rights come into existence? The answer offered here, and I think it is the only answer compatible with a pacifist commitment, is that they exist at the moment of conception marking the beginning of the individual's life processes.

This has nothing to do with the old theological arguments over whether or not the soul can be said to be present at conception; it rests completely upon the determination of whether or not there is now something "living" in the sense that, given no induced or spontaneous interferences, it will develop into a human person. We know for certain that this fertilized ovum is not going to develop into a dog or cat or anything else; whatever

its present or intervening states, it will at the end emerge as a human child. One need only consider the usual reaction to a spontaneous or accidental termination of a *wanted* pregnancy. The sorrow of the prospective parents, a sorrow shared by friends and relatives alike, testifies not only to the fact that something has "died" but, also, that this "something" was human.

So, too, with the medical arguments over when the fetus becomes "viable" and, therefore, eligible for birth. It is the life that is present, not the organism, which should concern us most. Once we agree that society's origin and purpose lie in the fulfillment of human capacities and needs, we have established the basis for a reverence for life which goes far beyond such purely technical determination. Should a life once begun be terminated (whether before or after the point of viability) because the prospective mother did not have adequate food and care or because she was forced by the demands of her social or economic condition to undergo excessive physical or psychological strain, we would have no problem about charging society with a failure to meet its responsibility. There is no reason to change this judgment when the termination is brought about by deliberate act, either to avoid some personal inconvenience or to serve what may be rationalized into the "greater good" of the family unit or, as the eugenicist might put it, society as a whole. Just as rights begin with the beginning of the life process, so does society's obligation to protect them.

Recently a new and somewhat terrifying "viability" test has been proposed in arguments supporting abortion. No longer is it to be the stage of physiological development which determines whether or not life is to be terminated but rather the degree to which "personhood" has emerged or developed. Although strict logic might suggest that personhood can be established only after the fetus has entered upon its extra-uterine existence (that is, after the child has been born) advocates of this new test are apparently willing to extend it back into the later weeks of pre-natal development as well.

Two objections to this test should be immediately obvious. In the first place (and the "generous allowance" of pre-natal personhood serves as a good illustration of this point), we are caught up with the same old problems of judgment that plagued the older viability standards: if the fetus is to be considered viable at x-weeks, what about the day before that period is completed? If personhood can be manifested in the pre-natal period when, let us say, fetuses can be compared in terms of differential activity, what about the hour before such differences can be noticed? Is more activity a sign that personhood is advanced, or might the absence of much activity be a sign of equal, though different, emergence of personhood?

The second objection is even more troubling. Under the old notion of physiological viability, the child once born was unquestionably viable. The same may not be true—or may not remain so in the face of changing social definitions—once the emergence or development of personhood is the measure. My experience as a conscientious objector in World War II doing alternate service in a home for mental deficient introduced me to literally hundreds of individuals whose state of retardation was such that they could be described as “animals” or even “vegetables” by members of the institutional staff. Later, working in a hospital for mental diseases, I attended parietic and senile patients who had reached the state of regression and psychological deterioration at which the same terms could be applied to them and their behavior. However ardent and sincere the disclaimers may be, applying the test of personhood to the unborn is certain to open the way to pressures to apply that same test to the already born. In this sense, then, abortion and euthanasia are ideological twins.

In the old theological formulations of the problem, the condemnation of abortion was justified in terms of the “sanctity” or the “intrinsic worth” of human life. Today much of the argument supporting abortion rests upon similar abstractions applied now to the intrinsic worth of the prospective mother’s life or of siblings whose living standards and life-chances might be threatened by the additional pregnancy. These are valid concerns and deserve serious and sympathetic understanding; and society does have a responsibility to find answers to these problems that do not involve the sacrifice of the human life that has begun. Pacifism and opposition to abortion converge here, for both find their ultimate justification in the Christian obligation to revere human life and its potential and to respect all of the rights associated with it.

The developmental model is used by those who propose emergence of personhood as the test is basically sound, but as used by the advocates of abortion it becomes a logical enormity arguing for a development from an undefined or unstipulated beginning. A more consistent approach would see human life as a continuity from the point of clinically determined conception to the point of clinically determined death. This physiological lifespan is then convertible to an existential framework as a developmental pattern of dependence relationships: at the earliest stages of a pregnancy the dependence is total; as the fetus develops, it takes on some of its own functions; at birth, its bodily functions are physiologically independent, but existential dependency is still the child’s dominant condition. The rest of the pattern is obvious enough. As the individual matures and achieves the fullness of personhood, both functional and behavioral independence become dominant (though never total; culture and its demands must be taken into account). Finally,

advanced age and physical decline returns him to a state of dependency which may, at the end, approximate that of his earliest childhood.

Society's responsibilities to the individual stand in inverse relationship to the growth and decline of his independence and autonomy. It would follow, then, that the immorality of abortion (and euthanasia as well) lies precisely in the fact that they propose to terminate the life process when the dependency is most total, that it would do so with the approval or authorization of society, that it would seek to justify this betrayal of society's responsibility on purely pragmatic grounds. The various claims made for the social utility of abortion (reducing the threat of overpopulation and now pollution; sparing the already disadvantaged family the strain of providing for yet another mouth; etc.) or the even less impressive justification in terms of personal and all too often selfish benefits to the prospective parent(s) have to be put in this context; and once they are, they lose much of their force.

The earlier reference to the sorrow caused by the loss through miscarriage of a wanted child does not obscure the fact that most abortion proposals are concerned with preventing the birth of unwanted children. No one will deny that being regarded as an unwanted intruder in the family circle will be psychologically if not always physically harmful, but there should be other solutions to this problem than "sparing" the intruder this unpleasantness by denying him life in the first place. If a child is "unwanted" before conception, science has provided sufficient means for avoiding the beginning of the life process.

Since the sexual enlightenment burst upon us a generation or so ago, we have replaced the old Victorian notions about "the mystery of sex" with a kind of mechanistic assumption that man is the helpless victim of his chemistry and unconscious impulses, an assumption which reduces sexual intercourse to a direct, natural, and almost compulsive response to stimuli and situations. The other side of this particular coin is the not so hidden danger that man himself will be redefined in strictly biological terms, a largely accidental event brought into being by the union of two adult organisms acting in response to that irresistible urge. This is reflected in many of the statements made by advocates of abortion in their references to the conceived child as a "fertilized ovum." The term is perfectly accurate in the strictly physiological sense; in the Christian perspective, however, it leaves something to be desired.

The act of intercourse, like any other human act, is and must remain subject to human responsibility. This means that those who enter upon it should consider the possible consequences of the act and acknowledge responsibility for those consequences if and when they come to pass.

Ideally this would mean that unwanted children would not be conceived; where the ideal is not achieved—or where the participants change their minds after the child is conceived—it will be society's obligations to assume the responsibility for the new life that has been brought into being.

Unwanted pregnancies resulting from a freely willed and voluntary act of sexual intercourse are one thing; those resulting from rape require special consideration. Even here, I would hold, the reverence for life which forms the basis of this pacifist rejection of abortion would preclude the intentional termination of the life process begun under such tragic circumstances. The apparent harshness of this position may be mitigated somewhat by reflecting that pregnancies attributable to true rape (or incest) represent a small proportion of the unwanted. Certainly they do not constitute a large enough proportion to justify the emphasis placed upon them by proponents of abortion. This provides small consolation to the victim who has already undergone the physically and psychologically traumatic experience of the assault itself and must still suffer the consequences of an act for which she bears no active responsibility. Nevertheless, the life that has begun is a human life and must be accorded the same rights and protection associated with the life resulting from normal and legitimate conceptions. Here again society must do what it can to provide all possible assistance to the victim including compensation (if one can speak of "compensation" in this context!) for the sacrifice she has been called upon to make. In most cases we must assume the mother will not want to keep the child after birth, at which point society's responsibility for his future development will become complete. If a mother does decide to keep her child, society will still have the obligation to make some continuing provision for adequate care and support.

The position I have outlined here has been described as unrealistic and even irresponsible in that it absolutizes the right of every "fertilized ovum" to develop, as one critic put it, "in a planet which can no longer support that kind of reproduction and where it threatens the possibility of realizing the lives which exist." The adjectives unrealistic and irresponsible do not trouble me; they are fairly standard descriptions of the pacifist approach, and this is a pacifist case against abortion. What does trouble me is the rest of the criticism. The ability or inability of the planet to support present and projected population totals is still a contested issue, and even if the prospects were as desperate as the statement suggests, the question would still remain as to whether the termination of unborn life is a desirable or acceptable solution. And as for the "realization" of the life which exists, it is essential to face the prior question of who is to determine what that involves and by what standards. How long,

we must ask, before the quotas now being set in terms of "zero population growth" and similar *quantitative* formulae are refined by eugenic selectionists into *qualitative* quotas instead? This is not an idle fear, and one would think that a movement dedicated to the elimination of long-standing inequalities based on the qualitative distinction of sex should be particularly sensitive to the possibility.

Beyond this there is that matter of "absolutizing" the right to life, and to this I am ready to plead guilty. At a time when moral absolutes of any kind are suspect and the fashions in theological and ethical discourse seem to have moved from situationalism to relativism and now to something approximating indifferentism, it strikes me as not only proper but imperative that we proclaim the value of every human life as well as the obligation to respect that life wherever it exists—if not for what it is at any given moment (a newly fertilized ovum; a convicted criminal; the habitual sinner) at least for what it may yet, with God's grace, become.

It is not just a matter of consistency; in a very real sense it is the choice between integrity and hypocrisy. No one who publicly mourns the senseless burning of a napalmed child should be indifferent to the intentional killing of a living fetus in the womb. By the same token, the Catholic, be he bishop or layman, who somehow finds it possible to maintain an olympian silence in the face of government policies which contemplate the destruction of human life on a massive scale, has no right to issue indignant protests when the same basic disregard for human life is given expression in government policies permitting or encouraging abortion.

Abortion: Theological, Legal, and Medical Aspects

Prefatory Note

Few problems confronting contemporary society are more crucial than that of abortion. The question has become acute, on the one hand, because it has arisen within the context of what has been called a sexual revolution. On the other hand, abortion as such has taken on certain critical dimensions of its own because some very radical changes have been advocated by various groups and even incorporated in state laws dealing with this matter.

Any serious discussion of this issue involves not only theological but also legal and medical considerations. The guidelines offered herewith therefore, come in three parts. The Commission on Theology and Church Relations has chosen to organize the present materials in such a way as to have the theological principles stated first. Legal and medical considerations follow thereafter and in that sequence.

All three sections are agreed on the point that nontherapeutic abortion is wrong.¹ Within the general context of this unanimity, however, certain divergences appear. These are primarily differences in nuances, arising in large part out of the fact that the three professions of theology, law, and

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medicine diverge in both the nature and the measure of their respective involvement in this issue.

The present document is relatively short, considering the complexities of the question. This brevity derives from the conviction that men who are motivated by love of God and faith in Jesus Christ do not need a detailed set of rules to follow slavishly. Nor do they expect the Biblical revelation to provide a specific regulation on every conceivable facet of an ethical problem. Instead, they seek to inquire into the general principles given in the Word whereby they can make their own decisions and judgments on the problems of life as they arise.

I. THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Men were created to live in response. To that end they were endowed with the faculty of willing. The decisions and judgments they make are to reflect God's intent and desire.² Nevertheless, disobedience to their Creator has been their basic choice. As a result, human life is broken, and existence is scarred. Confusion and misdirection are the common lot of men everywhere. Even the Christian, who accepts the benefits of God's revelation, is confronted with uncertainty and ambiguity in the exercise of choice. In this situation, the major objective of the church's guidance in the matter of making ethical decisions is to develop individuals who have both the desire and the capability for choosing responsibly, especially in those very complex areas where God's will is not explicitly set forth.

Where there is a clear directive in God's revealed Word, right and wrong come as sharp alternatives. There is no ambivalence, for example, in the statement of Jesus that "everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment" (Matt. 5:22). That word of the Lord leaves men no choice except to obey or to refuse.

Most problems of life, however, do not come that simply. They require evaluation and judgment. Abortion is such an issue. A right choice in this matter can be made only by weighing the factors involved in a given case on the basis of valid and enduring principles. Four such principles are especially pertinent.

1. Life Is a Gift from God

The first of these is that life is a gift. It comes into being by an act that shares in the creative powers of God Himself.³ There is a great deal of

discussion as to the precise moment at which incipient life becomes a human being; yet in terms of potentialities, it is generally agreed that life begins when fertilization takes place. The first origins of *individual* human life are thought to be established at the time of the blastocyst, which occurs about a week after fertilization.

That life in the womb must be thought of in terms of personal being is a point made clear by such passages as Exodus 21:22-24, where the law of retaliation is made to apply in cases of injury to a mother or a child in her womb or to both; and Jeremiah 1:5, which speaks of the consecration of the prophet before he was born. The evangelist Luke, moreover, describes how the unborn baby in Elizabeth's womb leaped for joy at Mary's greeting (Luke 1:41), thereby responding in the manner in which all men are expected to react to God's presence.

2. Human Beings Are Created for Eternal Life

Nascent life is of special value before God. Like every other human life it is designed to inherit eternal life.⁴ That is the second of four major considerations to be kept in mind in evaluating the question of abortion. In a formal sense, such new life stands in enduring relationship to its Creator, whose will it is that His creatures live in His presence both now and forevermore. The beginning of human life may not, therefore, be cut short at will without risking the danger of distorting God's will.

At the same time, nascent life enjoys no independent existence. It is completely dependent on the maternal life that surrounds and sustains it. Accordingly, a conflict may develop between two destinies, so intimately linked. Incipient life may become a threat to the life of the mother. In that case, a choice needs to be made; and its primary thrust must be to save that life which is already in existence as a fully developed human being. The latter takes precedence over the former because maternal life has come into being for fulfillment and not for a death which can be prevented—in this case, by emergency action. Under such circumstances, abortion is the indirect and unfortunate consequence of an action undertaken to preserve life.

3. Human Life Is Created for Fulfillment

Fulfillment is the third factor to weigh in reaching a proper decision in the matter of abortion.⁵ The attainment of a fuller life, however, is not derived from a concern for convenience or a desire for comfort or self-centered pleasure. Not wanting to be a mother does not provide a proper

justification for deciding to have an abortion. Fulfillment is often found in sacrifice for another human being and in trusting the God for whom no price came too high in the task of redeeming mankind by His Son. The possibility or even the likelihood that a child-to-be-born will be a financial burden is not of itself sufficient reason for choosing to abort incipient life. Even very grave psychiatric considerations do not of themselves offer a justifiable ground for deciding on an abortion.

Instances of rape and incest create very special problems, requiring pastoral counseling of the most sensitive kind. Individuals trapped in such situations, with their attendant tragedy and heartache, deserve the best in guidance within the context and on the basis of the major guidelines set forth in Scripture.

4. Life and Death Belong to the Province of God

The fourth guiding principle is that life and death belong to the province of God.⁶ Therefore, no person has a right to extinguish human life by a decision of his own, made apart from general precepts that express God's will.

The commandment "Thou shalt not kill" was given specifically to forbid murder, that is, killing with hatred or malice aforethought.⁷ It is hardly proper, therefore, to make a direct application of this commandment to every act of abortion, since no hatred or malice may be involved in a given case. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that life comes into being as a special creative act of God, and no gift of His can be either rejected or destroyed with impunity. Any decision on the issue of abortion must take this last point with utmost seriousness.

Where a mistake in judgment has been made, a Christian continues to live and serve in full assurance of forgiveness. However, the abiding availability of divine pardon suffers flagrant abuse whenever it is taken for granted and used as a basis for violating the cardinal principles relating to the preservation of incipient life. But even flaunting God's will and abusing His grace are forgiven to those who repent of such sins and accept the pardon offered in Jesus Christ.

II. LEGAL ASPECTS

Lutherans committed to taking Scripture seriously regret the hastening drift toward drastic relaxation of legal restraints on the practice of abortion. We see in it yet one more example of the growing disposition of an

increasingly secular society to resolve moral dilemmas on pragmatic considerations of public policy rather than on transcendent religious imperatives. Persuaded that abortion, except in extraordinary circumstances, transgresses the divine command against the taking of human life, we prefer to see the preservation of such legal proscriptions as are consistent with Scriptural injunctions on the point, and we hope for revision of legal codes that violate Scripture's teaching, until they are brought into conformity with God's Word. We accept, as Christian citizens, the duty to make every legitimate effort to persuade our countrymen, Christian and non-Christian alike, to this position.

The gradual shift in the public philosophy, however, seems almost certain to lead in the country at large to sweeping "liberalization" or even the repeal of laws that prohibit the artificial termination of pregnancy that has progressed to some specified term. When, in a self-governing society committed to popular sovereignty, the point is reached at which the principal surviving support for a given law is the *religious* credo of a minority or a diminishing majority, it must regretfully be concluded that the law has lost its title to public authority. Few will question the abstract constitutional and legal right of the people to substitute for existing laws a policy of official permissiveness on the part of the state with respect to abortion. But it does not follow that a particular form of abortion will be less sinful once public laws against it have been softened or withdrawn. Recent experience (notably that following the enactment of such legislation in New York) prepares us to expect that the "legalization" of non-therapeutic abortion will substantially increase its incidence. Human frailty, always eager to exculpate itself, will pretend to see in the relaxation of state controls a sort of official endorsement; but it may well be doubted that persons hitherto restrained from this sin by the interdictions of law were more "moral" while they were in that case than they are when they commit the sin once the laws against it are repealed. They were desisting for the wrong reasons in the first place; they justify their newly "legalized" conduct for the wrong reason in the second.

No sincere Christian assumes that the mere fact that not one of the Seven Deadly Sins,⁸ against which the fathers of the church warned, is forbidden by law makes these transgressions less heinous. Nor does the fact that only two of the Ten Commandments—those forbidding killing and theft—are explicitly and effectually embodied in American law" render the others less binding on all men. They derive their authority from the express commands of God Himself, not from publicly determined rules of law, enforceable in the civil courts. No one would seriously suggest, however, that the several states enact legislation subjecting all vio-

lators of all the Commandments to publicly imposed penalty. The case for legislative enactment of the commands against killing and stealing is clear enough, for civil order is impossible without them. But for the rest, the chief sanctions are religious—and indeed higher than public sanctions—but because they are primarily religious rules and lack the formal sanction of the public will, they are quite properly omitted from the statutes and the common law.

If, in a very real sense, the withdrawing of legal sanctions against non-therapeutic abortion will make those who commit or consent to it no less sinful than they were when they were inhibited only by the fear of prosecution, it is even more certain that the change in the laws will not alter the Christian's conduct with respect to nontherapeutic abortion. "Legalization" will place no one under new positive compulsions; it will only remove older prohibitions. Legal-abortion laws are by their nature not the sort of laws that one can "violate"; they are only the sort that one can elect not to avail himself of. They may, alas, tempt those who are not under the liberating influence of the Gospel to succumb to a sinful propensity to which they formerly, for the wrong reasons, feared to yield.

The Christian will continue to desist, for permissive legislation never cancels his responsibility to obey the will of God revealed in the Scriptures. For him, personally, new laws would make no difference. His path, as heretofore, will be illuminated by God's Word. But because the proposed permissive legislation would cause non-Christian brothers to stumble, the Christian will continue to hope that the laws will reflect the teachings of Holy Scripture on this issue; and if they must be revised in deference to popular sovereignty, he will redouble his efforts to bring his unregenerate neighbor into the blessed and emancipating captivity of the Gospel.

III. MEDICAL ASPECTS

It will be useful, first of all, to examine the American Medical Association's position on abortion, as expressed by its House of Delegates on June 25, 1970:

WHEREAS, Abortion, like any other medical procedure, should not be performed when contrary to the best interests of the patient, since good medical practice requires due consideration for the patient's welfare and not mere acquiescence to the patient's demands; and

WHEREAS, The standards of sound clinical judgment, which together with informed patient consent, should be determinative according to the merits of each individual case; therefore be it

Resolved, That abortion is a medical procedure and should be performed only by a duly licensed physician and surgeon in an accredited hospital after consultation with two other physicians chosen because of their professional competency, acting only in conformance with standards of good medical practice and within the Medical Practice Act of his State; and be it further

Resolved, That no physician or other professional personnel shall be compelled to perform any act which violates his good medical judgment. Neither physician, hospital, nor hospital personnel shall be required to perform any act violative of personally-held moral principles. In these circumstances good medical practice requires only that the physician or other professional personnel withdraw from the case so long as the withdrawal is consistent with good medical practice.

The AMA's Judicial Council has expressed the following opinion on the foregoing statement:

The Judicial Council is charged with interpreting the Principles of Medical Ethics as adopted by the House of Delegates of the AMA. The Principles of Medical Ethics of the AMA do not prohibit a physician from performing an abortion that is performed in accordance with good medical practice and under circumstances that do not violate the laws of the community in which he practices.

In the matter of abortions, as of any other medical procedure, the Judicial Council becomes involved whenever there is alleged violation of the Principles of Medical Ethics as established by the House of Delegates.¹⁰

State laws diverge greatly in the restraints they impose on the practice of abortion. These vary from New York State (where abortion may be performed in a hospital by a licensed physician at the mere request of the mother) to Arkansas (where abortion is permitted to preserve the physical or mental health of the mother, or to prevent birth of a child with grave physical or mental defect or deformity, or when pregnancy is a result of rape or incest), to Missouri (where abortion is permitted only to preserve the life of the mother or that of her child), to Pennsylvania (where, without exception, willful or unlawful abortion is defined as a crime).

On entering the practice of medicine, a physician takes the Hippocratic Oath, the second section of which affirms:

The regimen I adopt shall be for the benefit of my patients according to my ability and judgment, and not for their hurt or for any wrong. I will give no deadly drug to any, though it be asked of me, nor will I counsel such, and especially I will not aid a woman to procure abortion.¹¹ Whatsoever house I enter, there will I go for the benefit of

the sick, refraining from all wrongdoing or corruption, and especially from any act of seduction, of male or female, of bond or free.

Whatsoever things I see or hear concerning the life of men, in my attendance on the sick or even apart therefrom, which ought not to be noised abroad, I will keep silence thereon, counting such things to be as sacred secrets.

The Christian physician, like the non-Christian physician, is bound by the first sentence of that solemn pledge: "The regimen I adopt shall be for the benefit of my patients according to my ability and judgment, and not for their hurt or for any wrong." In addition, the Christian physician is guided by the Biblical revelation of the nature and effects of sin, while the non-Christian physician is not. The latter may therefore openly advocate abortion for any reason whatsoever, as in the state of New York, without being aware of the full moral dimensions of his position.

In spite of these considerations, the Christian physician must often make a decision in situations where his choice is between the lesser of two evils or sins. To some problems there are no right answers except that one course of action may be less reprehensible than another. A physician is trained to deal with pathology, and this precludes an ideal or desirable prognosis. Instead he usually seeks for his patient the best functional result that medical procedures may provide. He seeks the solution that is most likely to help a poor situation. Sometimes this is the case when the denying or recommending of abortion is the issue he faces.

The Christian physician can in some circumstances accept and actually recommend abortion under proper medical supervision, as for example, when the life of the mother is threatened by pregnancy. It should be mentioned, however, that such cases are relatively rare.¹² Especially difficult is the question of the prescribing of abortion as a response to *suspicious* that an abnormal child may otherwise be born. Such cases are extremely rare, for the majority of such pregnancies will produce normal children.¹³

Equally distressing is the problem of prescribing abortion for psychiatric reasons. Valid psychiatric reasons for abortion occur so rarely as to be statistically negligible; given present-day therapy, the prognosis for the mother is normally excellent.¹⁴ Even so, there will no doubt always be persons who believe that they are the exceptional instances. Such individuals will require very special attention and counseling on the basis of the principles set forth in these guidelines and such other precepts as may apply to the specifics of a given situation.

Conclusion

Ethical decisions call for the most competent application of both the ability to make judgments and the willingness to be guided by the prin-

ciples derived from the revelation of God's will. To that end men have been endowed with reason. They are expected to use this gift for purposes of making choices on given issues. In making up their minds, however, they must be guided by more than human calculations. In the matter of abortion this means that such alleged dangers as overpopulation and dire predictions of an impending shortage of food are not decisive, since such estimates and projections may suffer from the fallibility inherent in any human enterprise.

This is not to suggest that ethical guidance offered by the church sets out to ignore or to denigrate competent judgments made by professional persons on the specific issues under consideration. What it does indicate is that God is still the Lord of history and that He can and often has upset human calculations. In the process of ethical decision-making, therefore, persons will be well advised to give greater weight to basic principles set forth in Scripture than to conclusions reached only at the hand of man's reckoning.

Living as Christians calls for trust and obedience toward that God who, through Word and Sacrament, offers man salvation in His Son, Jesus Christ, and who reveals His will for man in Holy Scripture. Holy Scripture does not present us with a detailed set of regulations for abortion and many other complex ethical problems. It does, however, offer principles of enduring validity and authority. Responsible ethical living therefore calls for making personal choices on the basis of validly established principles rather than following a detailed set of regulations in a servile way. Accordingly, these guidelines are intended to set forth those principles of God's revelation that should guide individuals in making decision and judgments on the question of abortion as a theological, legal, and medical problem.

NOTES

1. A therapeutic abortion is one that is done "to safeguard the health or life of the patient, or to prevent the birth of a severely crippled, deformed or abnormal infant." Cf. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 205, 7 (Aug. 12, 1968), 519.
2. The importance of human decision-making is frequently emphasized in the so-called wisdom literature of the Old Testament. Cf., e. g., Prov. 12:20, 25; 14:10; and 14:17.
3. See, for example, Ps. 139:13 and its parallels; see also Acts 17:25.
4. See, for example, Ps. 139:16; Gal. 1:15; 1 Tim. 2:4.
5. Jesus came that man "may have life, and have it abundantly." (John 10:10)
6. The apostle Paul was well aware of this; cf. Phil. 1:21-24.
7. Note the words of Jesus in Matt. 5:21-23.

8. Usually listed as Pride, Avarice, Anger, Gluttony, Lust, Envy, Sloth; though in some medieval writings Gloominess (*tristitia*) or Languid Indifference (*acedia*) or both are substituted for one or two of the last mentioned.

9. There are, to be sure, also a few feeble rebukes to adultery and mendacity and, in some jurisdictions, to profaning the Sabbath or the name of God.

10. This statement and the previous resolution were received in a communication from the offices of the American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

11. A majority of physicians understand this as a reference to nontherapeutic abortions.

12. See *Shrinking Non-Psychiatric Indications for Abortion* (New York: Julian Press, 1954), and S. Goodmaker, *The Case for Illegal Abortion* (Berkeley, Calif.: Diablo Press, 1965), p. 95.

13. See *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 204, 12 (June 17, 1968), 1153 ff.

14. Meyre Sim, M.D., Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry, Birmingham University, Birmingham, England, so indicated in his 1970 American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology Lecture, entitled "Psychiatric Reasons for Abortion." See also "Abortion," an editorial in the *California Journal of Medicine*, Sept. 1970, p. 1.

Confessions of an Abortion Counselor

Eight years ago a young woman came into my office with information about a sinister plot she had uncovered. It seems that a friend of hers had taken a mystery-shrouded weekend trip to a farm in Maryland. But hers was unlike weekends most girls spend in the country: she had left pregnant, came back not pregnant. My moral sensitivity was immediately activated. I confirmed the information, attempted to contact the girl in question, got a few names and addresses together and made my way to the justice department in Washington to lay my carefully documented exposé before J. Edgar Hoover or whomever he had appointed to look into such sinister goings-on. Not much happened. I came back with my nose out of joint because the defenders of law, order and morality hadn't fallen over themselves with joy at my discovery.

Eight years later I find myself, along with scores of colleagues from all over the nation, involved in a Clergy Consultation Service on Problem Pregnancies. When on duty I see as many as five women a day; the majority of them end up in the office of a doctor whose name and phone number I supply.

My change in attitude reflects a change in the national mood. "Abortion" has become a popular issue. Slowly the laws are being loosened.

In California, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, D.C., Maryland, Hawaii and New York the legal picture has been altered either by new legislation or by court order. In other states, where the laws are still rigid, many psychiatrists are making it possible for women to terminate unwanted pregnancies. More and more hospitals are performing abortions with diminished attention to the letter of the law. The Women's Liberation Movement has made repeal of abortion laws a *cause célèbre*.

With such change in attitude and practice the order of the day, perhaps it is important for us to ask ourselves a few questions about abortion and the role of the clergyman who counsels on problem pregnancies. In times of rapid change there is always the danger that enthusiasm will deter us from asking certain ethical questions. Perhaps we had better ask them now, before change makes backing up impossible.

Is abortion really murder? Somewhere along the line we seem to have answered that question with a categorical No. We have argued that a fertilized egg is not a human being, so taking it from the potential mother is not murder. Having rejected what we had decided was a peculiar constellation of natural law, medieval superstition, male chauvinism and American Puritanism, we have assumed that we have settled the matter. We have even discovered that Thomas Aquinas and Pope Innocent III seem to support our argument that a fertilized egg is not a human being; we have quoted those great Romanists, thinking that the discussion is thus ended.

THE FETAL COUNT

But we have not heard out those critics who are not arguing on the basis of natural law but who are rather saying that our favorable view of abortion is really another involvement in the antilife movement which is dehumanizing our society and flooding other levels of our national life. Abortion, they insist, is of no moral consequence so long as you consider life to be cheap and persons expendable. "Put the old out on the tundra to die! Kill off the female babies! Take the life of the unwanted and yet unborn child! After all, what is the value of these lives?" In an age when the body count is a primary sign of antilife, what of the fetal count of our Consultation Service on Problem Pregnancies?

Consider a situation in which such a case can be made. An abortion can be performed at any time during a pregnancy, right up to the moment of birth. After 20 weeks or so (depending on which doctor is involved) the procedure is called a "hysterotomy"; when resorted to at the time of birth, it is called a "Caesarean section." Here the dividing line between

childbirth and abortion becomes hazy. Can we justify taking a nine-month-fetus from the womb in such a way that the about-to-be-born infant will die? Nobody I know is for the killing of a healthy, normal infant. If aborting is morally questionable at nine months, what about it at eight months plus three weeks, or at seven months? When does the magic moment occur? Is it when the fetus passes through the birth canal? When it is able to exist outside the mother? I find that every additional week of pregnancy for those I counsel makes me more uneasy. Yes, the mother does have rights which society has no cause to take away from her. But somewhere in the course of fetal development—at some unnamed point—we begin to deal with a *person*. Or is the question of what is the proper time to effect an abortion the right question to ask?

Yet those who pose such questions have not by so doing made their case against abortion. It is hard to find anyone who would categorically deny the validity of permitting an abortion in a case in which continuation of the pregnancy would cause the death of the mother and the fetus—or even of the mother alone. We are all faced with a situational ethic. We all decide when and under what conditions abortion is proper.

It is the “gray” areas that present dilemmas to most of those concerned about abortion reform. Take the following situations of the sort a counselor encounters almost every week:

A married woman has six children, all that the parents can possibly support; another child would impair the family’s stability. The woman becomes pregnant—through failure to use or know about birth control, or through negligence, malfunction or passion. Does society have the right to force her to have her child? When we talk about the sacredness of life, what about the sacredness of her life and that of the other members of the family?

A woman on the brink of menopause feels that at her age she cannot care adequately for the expected child; for a variety of reasons the birth and subsequent rearing of a child would be destructive not only to her, but also to the child.

A woman who is pregnant reveals that her husband has been in the armed forces overseas since before the impregnation.

A young girl is pregnant as the result of incest or rape.

A college student knows that her pregnancy means a serious disruption of her life—emotionally, vocationally, educationally, economically.

A married—or an unmarried—couple are still in school; they will have to end their education if the pregnancy is not terminated.

In each of these cases we must be concerned about the sacredness of life. Even if not all the questions are answered clearly, our involvement hinges on how we view human existence and its quality.

MUST COUNSELING BE NONDIRECTIVE?

More clarification of the role of the pastor counseling on problem pregnancies is needed. Those of us in Clergy Consultation Service assume that our task is to present to the woman—and, we would hope, to her husband or her mate as well—the alternatives that are open to her. Without our making any judgment, the woman must come to her own decision, after which we are to help her carry out that decision. Under this posture we assume that the final judge is the woman. We see our task as nondirective and supportive. Yet if a woman were to suggest that she has too many children and wants to discuss the alternatives, finally deciding that the best way out is for her to shoot four of them, it is doubtful any of us would give her the address of the nearest weapons salesman. In fact, the moment we suggest alternatives and discuss specific options we cease to be nondirective. If a woman who is in the eighth month of pregnancy looks at the alternatives and decides she wants an abortion, I make a decision: I do not give her the information. The argument that all we do is present alternatives and supply information is pretense—just that.

On the other side, we constantly run the danger of assuming that abortion is the only, or even the best, solution to problem pregnancies. Time was when a girl who became pregnant rushed the man—or *any* man—to the altar; the shotgun wedding was the only visible alternative. But today there are alternatives other than abortion. The good counselor will make these alternatives clear, in some cases may even recommend one of them. Some couples should, indeed, marry. Some women can raise the child as a single parent. Others will not demur at offering the expected child for adoption. For some women an abortion would be destructive; moral or religious training or honest conviction would create in them an intense guilt.

The pastor, then, operates in the area between that of the nondirective counselor who simply helps persons clarify their own positions, and that of the moralist who direct persons toward the good. But that distinction still doesn't answer the hard questions.

THE LAW: THERE IT IS

We in the Clergy Consultation Service protest that we are operating within the law. What goes on between pastor and parishioner in a counseling session is a private matter. We insist that we are not in "conspiracy" with physicians who perform abortions, that all we are doing is handing out information about some doctor who might talk to a woman with a

particular problem. We are simply presenting the range of possibilities. Our stance approximates honesty.

The laws are cruel and inhuman, and until they are changed there is little that can be done. Not everybody agrees that what we do is legal. The fact is that we *do* give information to women about doctors who are performing operations outside the strict construction of the law. We are subject to challenge at any time, as are the doctors. The decision to operate in this gray area is self-consciously arrived at.

What alternatives are there? It is true that any woman can get a perfectly legal abortion; all she needs is \$1,000 and time to travel to London. From the moral viewpoint, many of us feel that if we can say to the person with that kind of money, "Yes, we can help you," we cannot say to the one who lacks it, "Sorry, but our moral sensitivities and our respect for the law tell us you must go ahead and bear the child."

THE CONSEQUENCES OF DRIFT

For the poor or the ignorant, failure to reform abortion laws works a real brutality. In Cook County hospital, in Chicago, 4,000 women each year are treated for complications resulting from botched abortions, either self-inflicted or performed by back-alley butchers. Our cities are full of ruthless men—some physicians, some not—who know that there is big money in abortion. We have reason to believe the crime syndicate gets its cut from the traffic. We hear of the use of knitting needles or coat hangers as instruments, of the administration of dangerous drugs, of blindfold pick-ups, of free sex as part of the fee, of blackmail and intimidation. If there is no way we can operate fully within the law, we must operate above the law. At the same time, we know that the only final answer can be serious reform in the laws of our states, brought about by mobilization of persons for that highly important political task.

Not all the answers are in. But the questions are being raised, and in the interim some of us must think and act on what information and insight we have. Then when new answers become available we must be prepared to adjust our own positions. We have at least concluded that in a variety of circumstances abortion is often the proper alternative to a problem pregnancy; that the final decision is fundamentally, though not entirely, one to be made by the prospective mother; that legal reform is a must; and that until legal reform comes, there is a higher ethic, the ethic of the sacredness of life, under which we must act.

VII

The Church for Tomorrow

This closing unit takes a look at some possible directions for the future. These three articles postulate themes that find some measure of substantiation when we consider them by themselves, and when we reconsider the material covered in this text.

In the first selection, Robert Osborn points out that the experience of finding God will be highly personal. As he states, Christian evangelism may be the area that achieves the greatest reception among college students. He finds that students deplore the notion of studying God from afar, devoid of human experience.

The final article focuses on one person's journey into faith. The statement by a young college student in this selection demonstrates clearly that religion is relevant in her life and that she is part of the commitment to social change. This concluding selection is obviously not a definitive statement on religious issues. It is one person's account of the inner struggle to come to grips with the revolution in religion.

Religion on the Campus

To the avant-garde of the present college generation, Christianity is no longer a relevant context for reflection and decision. These students have rejected the "Western tradition," which, in their eyes, has proved its bankruptcy by bequeathing to them a one-dimensional, technocratic, racist society that cannot sustain itself except as it plunders its resources, enslaves its poor, and exploits its own nonwhite minorities and the nonwhite majorities of the Third World. To them it appears inconceivable that this tradition should hold any possibility of exodus from the slavery and meaninglessness it has generated.

But rejection of the "Western tradition" is, of course, rejection of Christianity—a fact that is not always acknowledged or even recognized, yet is nonetheless there, simply because without the tradition there is no Christianity. The death-of-God theology is quite right in its reading of the pulse of youth, but quite wrong in its attempt to equate this rejection of tradition with true Christianity. However, just because the tradition is still present—at least in the parents or, more likely, the grandparents—it still bears fruit among the young. It produces in them a social idealism which runs the gamut from utopian revolutionism through liberal evolutionism to communal quests for "new life styles" and a "loving" society. "Love"

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is the big word, the common denominator, in all this social utopianism—love freed of the evil of tradition and its institutions. For the young reject the biblical antithesis to love; namely, “sin” and “evil.” As they see it, these are the sum and substance of tradition itself, and love belongs to the “now generation” alone. Whatever love is, the past knows nothing of it.

FEELING IS THE MEASURE

One would expect this idealism to lead to effective social action. But this is not the case, except for sporadic and usually aborted instances. Aside from the general impotence of the student ghettoized on the campus, there are two other reasons for this failure. The first is youth's abhorrence of tradition and its language. This makes it very difficult to translate social vision into plans for action, because it is in large part the past that provides the stuff for action. The second reason for the failure is the biblical tradition. This second legacy now takes the form of what I shall call “individual aestheticism”; that is, the replacement of the biblical tradition of a personal experience of God by personal experience per se. The traditional view of God as in some radical sense “other” than man meant a distinction between man's existence and his essence. Self-knowledge was at the same time knowledge of alienation from essence and reality. No direct and immediate experience of the self, or by the self of the world, was an ultimate experience; one had to reach beyond the self and the world—or rather, had to be reached *from* beyond. Thus there was need for mediation. The “death of God” in our time (coincident with the death of tradition) has meant the incarnation of God in the present; the contemporary person may encounter all that is ultimate and true immediately, in his own experience. He needs no mediation—of tradition, of the future, of time; his own “experience” is the measure and test of all. Therefore he can talk meaningfully about “experimental life styles.” Whether any proposed life style is valid or not will reveal itself in the experience of those who practice it.

This, then, is what I mean by “individual aestheticism”: that the *feeling* the *individual* derives from his experience is the measure. Life is no longer a matter of moral intent, is in no sense a goal to be pursued under the guidance of mediating norms and values; it is rather a feeling to be received and validated in the immediacy of experience.

That this emphasis on experience of the “now” is inimical to social action is clear. For in the first place “experience” is a passive, aesthetic phenomenon that feeds on reality, whereas social action is an active phe-

nomenon of the moral will that adds to reality. Furthermore, social action envisions a future reality that transcends the possibilities of the present, whereas the "now generation" claims to experience reality in whatever fullness is possible in the immediacy of the moment.

To sum up: the repudiation of Christianity by those who are creatures of it has made of the grace of love a natural endowment, and of the mediated God of transcendence the immediate reality of experience. Many consequences follow. First, the loss of language—of meaningful language. Of course a good deal of language remains, but it is the language of technology and science, wherein words can signify things only; they do not and cannot bear meaning because—except in the case of very recent technological terminology—they come out of tradition. All of us, including the young, have only the words our parents and teachers have passed on to us, and those words are by definition good for nothing. Besides, who needs them where reality is immediate? All that is required is a single sign for the immediacy of feeling, intuition and experience. This universally accepted code word or sign is "you know"—which means that whatever I experience and vainly try to say, "you know"; it is immediately in and with you. The "now generation," the generation free of tradition, is the "you know" generation.

AN 'I' WITHOUT A 'THOU'

With the loss of language comes the "discovery" of touch and feel. Language arises where mediation is necessary, where being and reality are transcendent enough to require words to give them presence. But where reality is immediate we may touch it and feel it directly. Thus we substitute encounter groups for the lecture, the sensual for the cerebral, the body for the brain, tactile sensation for intellectual precepts, physical intimacy for "getting to know you"—Esalen, in other words. There is a great deal of sensuality, a new awareness of the body. But since reality is immediate, touch, sensation, sheer physicality are the last word. Or, to put it differently, the immediate feeling and experience are all there is. The body signifies nothing: it does not point to any transcendent mystery—a "feminine mystique" or the "mystery of human sexuality"—that might need language, time, trust, etc. for its disclosure.

The reality is the immediate experience, and the experience may be homosexual as well as heterosexual, for to modern youth it is quite evident that mere physical differences count for nothing. They could count if they signified some sexual depth, some sexual "mystique"—if the

physical were in some sense transcended by depths that only language could reveal. But such is not the case. Whatever meaning there is lies immediately in the sensual experience, and this is not necessarily a function of the distinctiveness of the other's body, but rather of the subtleties of the feelings and sensations experienced. Ergo, there is nothing intrinsically valuable in a heterosexual relationship; indeed, if it is your "bag" — if it is authenticated in your own experience — you may well swing either way, AC or DC. This is sensuality, but hardly sexuality. And therefore it is hardly community — I and Thou. It is "experience" — sensations which occur *within* the self by *means* of the other. Hence a strange corollary of the new intimacy and immediacy is fundamental alienation and loneliness, an "I" with its sensations and experiences, but without a "thou."

THE LOSS OF MORALITY, THEOLOGY, HISTORY

All this means also the loss of morality. I shall not speak of immorality, which after all is a moral condition; i.e., it implies the reality of a morality which it negates and contradicts. Among our youth, morality has been superseded by what I referred to above as aesthetic individuality; that is, by amorality. Life is no longer a goal to be pursued by decisions made in answer to the word of conscience. Being is found not in what I do or create in and for the world, but rather in what I experience and get from the world and others. There can be no morality, no intentional projects, because morality depends on language, and language implies some sense of "ought." The "ought" becomes present in words, in a "categorical imperative." But words are traditional, therefore evil. There can be no conscience, no morality, no ought, because there is no language. Nor need there be, since what now is (extracted from tradition) is what ought to be; sincerity, self-identity, immediacy are real.

Thus Christian theology is of course dead. "Theology" is God-word, word or doctrine of God. Christian theology maintains that God is so other from man that He cannot be found immediately in man's flesh or in man's time; i.e., in man's experience or in the course of human action. God had to take time for man, enter into man's flesh. God had to become a word in man's midst. But since the incarnation was a concrete and exceptional event in history, it could be present beyond its time only in word, in tradition. Hence the Christian tradition. Theology has the double task of keeping this tradition alive and faithful to its beginnings and at

the same time bringing it to bear on the present. Christian theology then, rooted as it is in tradition, appears to be not only completely anachronistic, but also — insofar as it would make the present moment, the “now,” in some sense answerable to that tradition — altogether inimical to the present.

Obviously, it is inconceivable that Christian theology, the Christian ministry, can address any kind of direct word to this situation. It will not be understood. We who call ourselves ministers or theologians deceive ourselves when we talk, for instance, about “prophetic inquiry.” The prophet has a *word* with which he probes and prods society; but words are neither welcome nor needed. And we deceive ourselves when we talk about “Christian witness,” for “Christian” implies Christ, Messiah — the one expected by Jewish tradition and remembered by Christian tradition. But tradition is precisely the problem. Again, witness implies language, with which we point to reality transcending our experience; but today there is no reality save our experience. The only alternative is the deceit (often professionally advisable) of claiming the tradition for the present, for experience. But this is to throw off the church, to reject its tradition, and to claim to be the bearer of “true” and “essential” Christianity. (Such apologetics is often more effective when it is couched in the vulgar jargon of modern sensuality.)

Finally, it is clear that the loss of tradition and language entails the loss of history — the entire dimension of temporality. With the loss of the past goes the loss of the future and, ironically, of the present also. The present is a moment between past and future which disappears and is replaced by the “eternal now.” But if there be anything to tradition and if there be anything yet to come, it follows that the present moment is not after all everything; it would seem to be transitory — on the one hand, a moment in the march of tradition into the past, and on the other the occasion for the ever impending future. If this be the case, those who choose to live in the eternal now forfeit the privilege and shuffle off the burden of shaping the tradition in answer to the demands of the future; and, unwittingly, they become passive units of inertia to be overcome by those who do indeed tap and channel the forces of history.

POSSIBILITIES FOR BELIEVERS

What is the place in this scene for those who do believe in tradition (if for no other reason than that it speaks to us of Christ) and do believe in the future (because the Christ of whom tradition speaks is the Coming

One)? There are several possibilities. First, insofar as the Christian would speak to the "now generation," he must remember that this generation is no longer at the religious stage along life's way, not even at the ethical stage; rather, it is at the aesthetic stage. Therefore he will have to speak indirectly, like Kierkegaard. He will speak neither in the name of Christ or the church nor in the name of what is good and true. Indeed, he will be hard put to speak at all, for speech requires words and suggests meaning. Perhaps he would best ask questions, since it seems that for the aesthete nothing needs be and nothing can be asserted.

Second, the Christian who speaks to the young may pursue the path rather successfully taken by the Campus Crusade; namely, direct witness of and to the tradition whose strangeness is assumed. He will not speak from the tradition as if it were understood; rather, he will proclaim the tradition and trust that, as God's word, it will speak for itself.

Third, he can seek out, perhaps create, a "ghetto," a believers' church, a community of faith where, somehow, theology is still alive.

Karl Barth once observed that the third form of sin, "lying," is a special prerogative of the Christian, for he alone knows enough of the truth to lie about and deliberately distort it. I would add that only he who in some sense knows the Christian tradition can consciously reject it. So there is a peculiar irony in the situation of today's Christian minister. Those to whom he can appeal for "Christian" reflection and action are the very ones who, because of their awareness of the Christian tradition, are most energetic in their rejection of it (and, dare I say, in their distortion of it). They repudiate it not only because it is traditional, a part of their past, but because, as we have seen, its traditionalism is a matter of principle. Christianity would thus appear to be one of the primary sources of our present hangups. For many of our young people their Christian nurture has left only itchy scar tissue. They are rocky ground in which the seeds of the gospel will scarcely take root, let alone bring forth fruit. The most promising soil for witness will be those who are further removed from the church—who know it only as a part of our general "Western heritage," not as a conscious or intentional factor in their own lives. These people will be less likely to focus their antipathy to the past so intensely on the "Christian" dimensions of our common tradition.

Ironically, the developments I have noted have given the teaching of religion a certain boost. Specifically, repudiation of the Western tradition, combined with the apotheosis of the "now," has made non-Western religions, especially Eastern mysticism, singularly attractive to college youth. But now that they have relegated the biblical tradition to the

past, they think it appropriate to study it, to objectify it and analyze it aesthetically. And it happens that the best place to study it is the college department of religion. Still, there are those whose interest in the biblical tradition is not merely academic: the "new" Christian, who has been grabbed by that tradition for the first time; and the "new" Jew, who has developed a new concern for his own identity—which, of course, means primarily participation in tradition.

The campus ministry as we have known it has no future. In appealing to alienated Christians it cast its seed on rocky ground. "Evangelism" of the Campus Crusade type sows on more fertile soil as it proclaims the tradition to those so far removed from it that they have had no need to rebel against it. Meanwhile, the "teaching" of religion flourishes.

The Search for Meaning

In a very real sense the revolution in religion is a renewed search for meaning by the people of today. The obvious response to this must be that religion is, in many ways, failing to provide meaning in the lives of the people of God. The inconsistencies that exist between organized religion and the code prescribed for us by Jesus seem evident. Recently a Methodist minister stated that, "There is no evidence that Christianity has ever really been accepted in the Western world." A Catholic priest pointed out that "Christianity has never been tried."

Certain basic longings seem to exist that can provide religious direction. It seems apparent that if organized religion is to survive "with meaning" it must take these conditions into account. Churches are run by humans, arguments of divine inspiration notwithstanding. Because of this they will, of necessity, fall short of their founder's goals. However, progress can be made and the following areas seem to have meaning for today.

ECUMENISM

Once a fire sweeping over Christendom under the leadership of Pope John XXIII, today ecumenical activities have been pitifully slowed. Theologians continue to count pinheads (or is that angels on pinheads?) while the search for common understanding goes unheard. Ecumenism

has moved so slowly that the forces of retrenchment seem clearly to have won the day. Activities of an ecumenical nature have been relegated to mere social gatherings. For some reason, churches continue to concern themselves with the burning issues of transubstantiation vs. consubstantiation vs. who knows what next. While the myriad of denominations are a disgrace to the one fold, one shepherd concept, we are warned by church leaders to go slow.

Perhaps it is the perspective of the young to question how slow. Theologians seem to pride themselves with hopes that by 1980 or 2000 *some* organic unity may be achieved here or there.

For those anxious to get about the business of Christian action the petty concerns of prelates, popes, and patriarches seem the height of mockery for anything Christian.

How do people today respond to this kind of foolishness? A visit to a college campus soon provides answers for the future. College students today openly disregard denominational lines but search instead for worship and service with meaning. Interdenominational services are common occurrences and worship is seen as an act of unity, not something to divide.

Of course everyone might say they are for church unity. The forces of retrenchment, however, call the idea of church unity the anti-Christ. They affirm the notion that strength is achieved through positions which cannot be compromised. Today's youth are through with apologetics which resort in final arguments of "We are the one, true church." The recognition that Christ cannot be bound in and limited is a message that many cannot accept. Thomas Merton understood the real message of Christian unity when he wrote, "I will be a better Catholic, not if I can refute every shade of Protestantism, but if I can affirm the truth in it and still go further."¹

One must wonder what kind of all-powerful, all-knowing God would want himself limited by the likes of men who hold unto themselves some repository of "truth." What kind of woman would Mary be if she really wanted men separated over so meaningless an issue as whether she was assumed into heaven or not? Somehow, the writer believes that the God who cared enough to die for us must surely want each of us to "come unto him."

This area of concern does seem important to a great many people today. Where once authoritarian statements were enough to secure obedience, today they may be met by defiance. True Christian unity may never be achieved, but concern over the dogma of division is likely to be a thing of the past.

A STAND OF CONSCIENCE

One of the most often heard complaints again contemporary religious life is the refusal of church leaders to put themselves and their positions on the line for what they know or believe to be right. This is a dangerous issue and has been around as long as man has debated distinctions between the world of God and the world of man, if such distinctions exist. This conflict was brought home recently in talking to a college administrator who pointed out that he was sick and tired of having the world brought into the church. "If I want to hear about the Vietnam War I'll stay home and watch the news. At church I want to be spiritually restored and emotionally isolated from the everyday conflicts of the world." When a college student friend was asked what he thought of the church services he responded, "I'm tired of hearing do good, avoid evil and praise the lord. No one ever says what evil is, but the minister continues with a never-ending sound of 'follow the ways of the Lord.'"

We must recognize that to take a stand implies grave risk. Someone once said that to act is to be committed; to be committed is to be in danger. Whenever we become committed or act we, of necessity, take on the moral consequences. In the reverse, failure to act might seem to imply lack of commitment. If this is true, how deep is the religious commitment of America? One author, in speaking of the silent majority, pointed out that the reason they are silent is that they "don't give a damn." This may be an overstatement, but Christian action does seem to be lacking in America. "Every aspect of our lives aims at turning us off, numbing us, so that we will keep our once-born, programmed status in the social system, and not rock boats."²

CHARISMA

As denominational rigors have less and less meaning, other areas seem to arise in their place to give direction. Increasingly the personal charisma of a religious leader provides the direction in which many will go. This is understandable in a world that looks for meaning. Shaken by a changing society people look for a standard. One may wonder why these people do not look to Jesus as this standard. Perhaps it is because the Jesus the churches teach does not provide the force they are looking for in their lives.

At a southern university, after a recent fall dance, nearly 4,000 students gathered to hear midnight mass. There are not 4,000 Catholic

students at this university. The priest who said this mass has his church crowded every Sunday and his classes at the university are always well attended. Wherever this man lectures crowds of students appear. When students are asked what is it about this man that attracts them they are quick to point out the essential happiness and peace that he has with himself. They feel it is something that comes from within. They also point out that his feelings about Jesus seem to find purpose in his relationships with his fellow man. He says what he believes and he means it.

Charisma, however, is a shaky base for establishing purpose. Idols quickly fall and illusions shatter too easily. Too often Americans have been led to believe in someone only to have reality bring home the human failings. This essential disillusionment with our leaders has led us to a final stance of personal affirmation, a stance precarious and lonely in an already all too lonely world.

PERSONAL AFFIRMATION

Today's youth are looking for guides to human behavior. They are given directions from everyone and the more directions given, the more confusing life becomes. Make no mistake about this: they are searching.

The question of personal morality is one that often comes up. What rule or code of ethics should guide behavior? The churches give one stance or another, their peers another, and our society still another. Where are answers to be found? These areas of moral decision go on and on, including such matters as racism, war, career, and marriage. Honest, legitimate answers are being sought.

When confronted with matters such as these no one person can provide the answers; in fact, no other person can finally answer. The ultimate answer must come from the person himself, guided by his conscience. The entire problem seems to revolve around the overused but accurate phrase of being true to yourself.

The matter of personal morality is quickly resolved when we look at personal worth. One of the surest things is that true love never exploits. Love takes on meaning when it involves mutual respect. True love seeks only what is best for the other person. In helping each person reach fulfillment each party adds to their own personal worth. This is not to say that individual personal decisions cannot provide grave difficulty. But if we are really loved, then we will not be compromised.

This stance of affirmation, the courage to be what we must, is not easily lived. It requires great fortitude, yet it seems the only hope of

a new Christian era based on faith. This search for a new direction, plus the disillusionment with the old, was expressed effectively in a paper by a young student. The following excerpts from this paper portray vividly the search of which we have been speaking.

To me, religion or being religious is leading a good life, one which is full of commitment, love for others, truth to oneself and service to others. Being religious is choosing, with responsibility, what one must do to satisfy one's own conscience. . . .

To me, a church (as it is now) has no relevance at all for society. I believe that men should come together physically at regular intervals, to experience religion with one another. But I don't like to name this coming together attending church, as the current meaning of church is so divorced from what I mean. Coming together to worship should include truthful conversation and relationships, strengths and guidance. This meeting can be completely devoid of the name of God, but *this* is a religious meeting for members of society, as the church is not. This should be a gathering of people deeply pledged to responsible action toward social problems. They can accomplish much—much more than the church today—as they are truly religious and caring and involved. . . . The church is concerned primarily with stability and permanence, not with sacrifice and risks for others or even for its own members. . . . Since the church is supposedly a representative of God, I can't understand the hypocrisy in the church's stand—self-preservation above preservation of others' rights. . . .

It has become so clear to me that I have no right to judge God through other men. Because whatever I believe about God, I do believe very much that He is an extremely personal God, different to each person. During the past five years in which I was really rejecting Him, I was rejecting *their* God and *their* idea of him, *their* perception of Him. I didn't understand that my God doesn't have to be like their God at all. . . .

God to me is now less of a person and more of a feeling towards life, and I don't believe that he is responsible for what happens to man—man is. Man has free will, given to him by God, and man must decide for himself what he wills to happen. God's value to me is the strength and wisdom and example He can give to me. He has nothing to do with what takes place. I do—we all do.

I have discovered many things about my God lately, but mainly that I do love Him, that He is relevant, that He is caring. I was unfair and so ignorant in looking to any church for God. An established church is unnatural with my belief in God and my interpretation of His ideas. God created all men, and man's uniqueness is a gift from God—and churches go above God and start separating the *good* from the *bad* as *they* see it. They tell God who is good and who is bad.

I still don't understand everything about God. He calls to us to progress, to grow. Maybe this is the same with faith. Kierkegaard believed that "we are always becoming Christians." Understanding God is a growing thing. I am so much happier and less lonely than I was before I understood God as I do now.

Here we see the inner conflict and final resolution of a person searching for meaning in her life. She has discovered a God she could never find in her church. I'm sure many would say He was always there—but was He?

If any new direction seems apparent to me this is it. God no longer will be bound in for the emergent Christian. The acknowledgment that God is in each person must become the central force in this new life. Perhaps God can no longer be found in the churches. The God to whom we dutifully sing our hosannas may well have left if indeed he was ever there. I seem to sense a feeling among youth that this God of the altar has no meaning for their life. This unapproachable, wrathful God who operated in such a capricious fashion with our lives seems to have no more place.

He has been replaced by the God who is seeking emergence in you and me. The God who gave us the one truly human trait of free will asks that we affirm our belief in ourselves and in our fellow man, recognizing that this affirmation is a never-ending striving for His will.

When we come to recognize our own worth and dignity then we can begin to attune ourselves to the force of God. For it seems obvious that an affirmation of love of God must first come forth from a love of what God has given us. This utilization of our free will must turn itself to our fellow man and demand for him what we demand for ourselves. All of this must come about in an open and free manner, divorced from threats of punishment and retribution.

John Kennedy hinted at this when he said, "God's work must truly be our own." We perceive God's will when we recognize him in our fellow man and in ourselves.

The institutional, organized Church will not go away. It has a strong hold on many of us, often a hold we ourselves are at a loss to explain. It currently is in the throes of change and the awful tearing of its fabric is painful to behold. But those who have observed change down through the years have often noted that the most meaningful breakthroughs are often accompanied by a fearful turmoil. It is often said that when one goes through a serious crisis of faith and emerges from it renewed and reaffirmed, that faith is stronger than ever.

The change comes so very slowly. Conferences seem to go on forever and the forces of resistance seem bent on destruction of everything. Yet beams of light do come through. Many are insisting on selecting and choosing those things from the past that were good and, rebuilding with a renewed vigor, seem to be bringing together new and more viable alternatives. Will the institutions let them survive? This seems questionable.

One thing Jesus did promise us and that was to be with men of good faith always. The new and varied directions these movements will take are difficult to determine, although two directions do seem evident. First, the movements will be built on the rock of a belief in the inherent goodness of all men. Second, they will look for God in their fellow man. A statement by Michael Novak that sums this up so well goes, "A man who offers bread to God when other men starve for lack of bread has not understood the gospel of Jesus Christ."³

NOTES

1. Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (Abbey of the Gethsemane, 1966), pp. 143-44.

2. Sidney Jourard, *Disclosing Man to Himself* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1968), p. 188.

3. Malcolm Boyd, ed., *The Underground Church* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 271.

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